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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF MORPHOLOGICAL DATING IN CONNECTION WITH EARLY MAN IN AMERICA[1]

T. D. STEWART

A LITTLE MORE than a hundred years elapsed between the first and the most recent discoveries of the skeletal remains of early man in the New World: those by Lund at Lagoa Santa in Brazil, 1835-1844, and by de Terra at Tepexpan in Mexico, 1947. The calm reception accorded the discovery of Tepexpan Man, in spite of his resemblance to recent Indians and his attributed age of 10-15,000 years, belied the discordant opinions as to the antiquity of man in America that characterized this long interval.

As a matter of fact, opinions on this subject have now moved full circle. Back in the early 19th century Lund's pronouncements were received just as calmly as were those of de Terra a century later. The scientists of Lund's day apparently were not incredulous when he claimed for Lagoa Santa Man simultaneously "an age of 30 centuries and upward" and a close resemblance to the Indians inhabiting Brazil at the time of the conquest.[2] Yet as recently as twenty years ago it was considered heresy in some anthropological circles to claim any antiquity for man in America exceeding two or three thousand years, or to regard the type of skull of the modern Indian as other than a recent development. And, on the other hand, there was no dissenting voice when in 1947 I

1 The material in this paper was collected for a lecture given at a graduate seminar in physical anthropology at the University of Chicago, February 27, 1948 and repeated before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, April 9, 1948 (Bulletin, Philadelphia Anthropological Society, vol. 1, no. 4, April, 1948). Published with the permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

2 For a summary of Lund's reports see Aleš Hrdlička's article *The Skeletal Remains of Early Man in South America* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 52, 1912), pp. 154-165.

restated essentially the original view of man's antiquity in America in connection with Tepexpan Man at the Albuquerque meeting of the American Anthropological Association.[3]

The ready acceptance of the new find at Tepexpan was due largely, of course, to preparatory archaeological discoveries. After Folsom points were first found clearly associated with an extinct species of bison,[4] but especially after the so-called Folsom culture was dated by geological criteria,[5] it became intellectual blindness not to concede that man entered America in the late Pleistocene. By 1937, when the International Symposium on Early Man was held in Philadelphia, the opposition to such an antiquity for man in America had pretty much disappeared.

One of the last arguments used against the antiquity of man in America, but which seems now to be entirely abandoned, involved the concept of anatomical or morphological dating. Under this concept the claims to antiquity of any human skeletal remains could be dismissed simply by showing that they resembled living types. Using this argument almost alone, Aleš Hrdlička for over thirty years led the opposition to any considerable antiquity for man in America. Although it is easy now to recognize the fallaciousness of this argument, probably it is not apparent to many just how this concept arose and why it was used effectively for so long. It is the purpose of this paper therefore, to present the development of this concept in the setting of the trends of thought during the past century on the antiquity of man in America.

I will begin this review by considering the reception during the mid-19th century of Lund's discoveries. His first reports consisted of letters to institutions in Europe and Brazil. These were picked up promptly by scientific periodicals in several countries and published without comment. In this country such reports

3 The concluding sentences of my paper, entitled *Comparisons between Tepexpan Man and other Early Americans,* are as follow: "This gets us back to the problem with which our predecessors struggled, namely, could man have come to this hemisphere at the close of the Pleistocene looking no different than the recent Indians? To my way of thinking, Tepexpan Man strengthens the cases of the previous claimants to antiquity and collectively they provide strong evidence for an affirmative answer. The uncertainty that withholds an outright affirmative answer to this question stems mostly from the lack of an accurate chronology and the residuum of doubt regarding the authenticity of most of the American finds" (in *Tepexpan Man,* Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 11, pp. 139-145, 1949, p. 145).

4 J. D. Figgins, *The Antiquity of Man in America* (Natural History, vol. 27, pp. 229-239, 1927); Harold J. Cook, *New Geological and Palaeontological Evidence Bearing on the Antiquity of Mankind in America* (*ibid.*, pp. 240-247).

5 Barnum Brown, *Folsom Culture and its Age* (Bulletin, Geological Society of America, vol. 40, pp. 128-129, 1929).

appeared in Silliman's American Journal of Science[6] and in the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia.[7] The immediate reaction is not easy now to determine. The evidence indicates, however, that skepticism was far from common. For example, the manuscript that Dr S. G. Morton[8] left unfinished when he died in 1851 ends with these prophetic lines:

> . . . the human cranial bones, discovered by Dr. Lund, in the cavern near the Lagoa do Sumidouro, in Brazil, and seemingly of a strictly fossil character, conform in all respects to the aboriginal American conformation; thus forming a striking example of the permanence, we might say, immutability of the primordial type of organization, when this has not been modified by admixture with intrusive and dissimilar races.
>
> I have no doubt that Man will yet be found in the fossil state as low down as the Eocene deposits, and that he walked the earth with the Megalonyx and Paleotherium. His not having been hitherto discovered in the older stratified rocks is no proof that he will not be hereafter found in them. Ten years ago, the Monkey-tribes were unknown and denied in the fossil state; but they have since been identified in the Himalaya mountains, Brazil, and England.

Morton's inedited manuscript is included in Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind,* a sizable book which appeared in 1854 and went through ten editions by 1871. Therein also is a chapter by Dr William Usher of Mobile on *Geology and Palaeontology, in Connection with Human Origins.* In addition to a summary of Lund's finds, Usher quotes a brief account by Professor Agassiz of his discovery in Florida about 1853 of human remains embedded in conglomerate.[9] From this evidence and a calculation of the rate at which the peninsula was formed, Professor Agassiz estimated that the mainland of Florida must have been inhabited by man and fresh-water animals for 10,000 years. From all of which Usher incautiously concluded that "The human fossils of Brazil and Florida carry back the aboriginal population of this continent far beyond any necessity of hunting for American man's foreign origin through Asiatic immigration."[10]

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6 Vol. 44, pp. 277-280, 1843. This is an extract of a letter from Dr Lund which Rev E. E. Salisbury, Professor of Oriental Languages in Yale College, saw in the "Cologne Gazette" and translated.

7 Vol. 2 (1844-45), pp. 11-14, 1846. Here the report is in the form of a "letter from Mr. Isaac G. Strain, of the U. S. Navy, Corresponding Member of the Academy, addressed to Dr. Morton, as Vice President, giving the synopsis of the translation, by himself, of a letter from Dr. Lund . . ."

8 Usually regarded as the father of physical anthropology in America.

9 Pages 352-353 of the 10th edition.

10 Page 353. This statement becomes understandable in the light of the fact that many mid-19th century scientific writers believed in the separate creation of American man.

The enthusiasm with which Morton and Usher embraced the evidence for antiquity of the American Indian physical type seems to have been typical of this period.[11] Between 1844 and 1866 the reported finds of ancient human skeletal remains, including the one by Agassiz already mentioned, increased to eight.[12] Even if the validity of some of these was questioned on geological grounds, especially by Sir Charles Lyell,[13] the probability of such antiquity for the Indian type remained essentially unchallenged at this time. Even as late as 1884 when Kollmann studied the Lagoa Santa crania, he was not led to doubt the antiquity of the specimens, and he, too, saw a continuity of type "since the period of the American diluvian."[14]

This unquestioning attitude on the part of the human palaeontologists of the mid-19th century was due to be affected by the change that biological thinking now underwent. In 1859 Darwin published the *Origin of Species,* and thereby "introduced time into biology."[15] Sooner or later thereafter everyone began to think in terms of the evolutionary theory: "to regard human history as the extension of a general process of change, operating by an automatic natural mechanism."[16] Although there was still little evidence of the primitive stages through which man had passed, the basis was thus laid for the concept of morphological dating, to which reference has been made already. To repeat, this is the idea that the present physical type of man could only be of recent origin, and, reversely, that the more primitive the human physical type the older it must be. Naturally this idea was slow in taking such definite form, but there can be no question that its ultimate origin goes back to the evolutionary theory.

In anticipation of the subsequent developments regarding the antiquity of man in America, it is pertinent to point out here a parallel furnished by the Darwinian theory. The existence of Pleistocene man in America and the theory of evolution were both generally accepted until the latter part of the last century. But about 1890 doubts began to be thrown upon them and during the first

11 Cf. also Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Man* (London, 1862). In this, as well as in the subsequent revised editions (1865, 1875) he wrote in the Introduction: "From these, and other discoveries of a like kind, this at least becomes apparent to us, that in the New World, as in the Old, the closing epoch of geology must be turned to for the initial chapters alike of archaeology and ethnology" (1st ed., p. 14).

12 Aleš Hrdlička, *Skeletal Remains Suggesting or Attributed to Early Man in America* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 33, 1907), p. 14.

13 *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (3d ed., London, 1863).

14 Hrdlička, *op. cit.,* 1912, p. 173.

15 Julian Huxley, *Darwinism Today.* Chapter in *Man in the Modern World* (Mentor Books, M31, 1948), p. 171.

16 *Idem.*

quarter of the 20th century both ideas were repudiated by many critics. Recently, however, more facts in both areas of knowledge have been discovered, and the balance has now swung over heavily, and, it would appear, permanently, in favor of both of these views.[17]

With this parallel in mind, let us move on a few years and take up the story of two important figures who through their scientific contributions, administrative abilities, and personalities were largely responsible for placing anthropology in America upon its present foundation—Frederic Ward Putnam and William Henry Holmes.[18] Both of these men were archaeologists and hence their opinions as to man's antiquity in America were based more on the cultural than on the skeletal evidence. Nevertheless, they introduced and influenced the physical anthropologist who was most directly concerned with morphological dating—Aleš Hrdlička. For this reason, at least, an account of their activities is a necessary part of this review.

Putnam, the older man (1839-1915), provides us with the element of historical continuity. As a student at Harvard he came under the influence of Agassiz as early as 1857, only a few years after the latter's find of early man in Florida. He served as his assistant until 1864. Perhaps this association disposed him favorably toward granting a considerable antiquity to man in America, an attitude which he held throughout his anthropological career. Putnam first showed an interest in anthropology about 1865; by 1875 he was Curator of the Peabody Museum of [American] Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Holmes (1846-1933) provides a contrast in education and training. His formal education, aside from art, ceased in 1870 when he graduated from the McNeely Normal School at Hopewell, Ohio. Art took him to Washington and

17 I have here freely paraphrased Julian Huxley's summary of the situation as regards Darwinism (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-163). That 1890 was the approximate turning point in anthropology as in Darwinism is indicated by the fact that Justin Winsor in 1889 raised few doubts in his thorough review of the literature under the heading of *The Progress of Opinion Respecting the Origin and Antiquity of Man in America* (in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston and New York, vol. 1, 1889), pp. 369-412. And on the other hand, W. H. Holmes, as will be related, began to publish criticisms in 1892-93.

18 Tozzer has stated Putnam's place in history thusly: "To have been, almost literally, the founder of a new branch of knowledge in America is, in itself, no small honor, and when to this is added the prime force behind anthropology for almost fifty years, the record is indeed impressive" (Biographical Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences, vol. 16, no. 4, 1933), p. 125.

Although I can find no such evaluation of Holmes, few will deny him a prominent place among the founders of modern anthropology. Indeed, many archaeologists today know more about Holmes' work than about Putnam's.

briefly into the Smithsonian Institution. From here he went in 1872 to the United States Geological Survey of the Territories as an artist, and eleven years later (1883) received the rating of Geologist. In 1889 he resigned from the Survey and returned to the Smithsonian to accept appointment as Archaeologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology.[19] This long apprentice training in two fields, geology and archaeology, makes it difficult to discern how Holmes acquired his intense opposition to granting any considerable antiquity to man in America. Perhaps his early experience as a geologist made him skeptical of the age of human inclusions in ancient strata. It seems more likely, however, that he came to this point of view while investigating the so-called "palaeoliths." These he succeeded in proving to be quarry refuse left by the recent Indians. It was thus a natural step for him to investigate every new find of flaked stones in situations suggesting antiquity.

Some interest attaches to dating the earliest pronouncements by Putnam and Holmes as to their position on the question of the antiquity of man in America. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of bibliographic research Putnam is not satisfactory. He lectured and participated in public discussions frequently, but he failed often to record, except as abstracts, what he said. The earliest statement of his opinion on this subject that I have found is in the 10th Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1877. Since the background for this statement and the statement itself were given later by Dr C. C. Abbott,[20] this makes a more interesting quotation:

> In September, 1876, Mr. Putnam, the Curator of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology at Cambridge, Mass., favored me with a visit, and together we carefully examined the river bluff below Trenton, and succeeded in finding *two* specimens *in situ*, such as I had previously described in the American Naturalist, and at his request I continued my examination of these gravels, acting under an appropriation made by the Peabody Museum for this purpose; and, in November of the same year, submitted to him a report *On the Discovery of Supposed Palaeolithic Implements from the Glacial Drift in the Valley of the Delaware River, near Trenton, New Jersey*. Still realizing how all important it was in this matter to make haste slowly, I purposely referred to these chipped stones as *supposed* palaeolithic implements, and gave, in detail, my reasons for thus considering them.
>
> Referring to this report Mr. Putnam remarked, in his annual report to the trustees of the Peabody Museum, that "from a visit to the locality with Dr. Abbott,

19 For other details see the biography by John R. Swanton (Biographical Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences, vol. 17, no. 10, 1936).

20 C. C. Abbott, *An Historical Sketch of the Discoveries of Palaeolithic Implements in the Valley of the Delaware River* (Proceedings, Boston Society of Natural History, vol. 21 [1880-1882], 1883), p. 127.

I see no reason to doubt the general conclusion he has reached in regard to the existence of man in glacial times on the Atlantic Coast of North America."

Holmes is more voluminous in his writings. Although in 1892 he expressed his views on the palaeolithic theory in connection with his study of modern quarry refuse, it was not until the next year that he really launched his attack against early man in America. In January of 1893 he prepared a statement for the journal Science entitled *Gravel Man and Palaeolithic Culture; a Preliminary Word*. This was followed during the next three months by three technical reports in geological journals on his investigations of supposedly ancient sites in New Jersey, Minnesota, and Ohio.[21] Since we have noted Putnam's opinion regarding the Trenton finds, it is interesting to see what Holmes has to say about them:

> The evidence upon which *palaeolithic man* in America depends is so intangible that, unsupported by supposed analogies with European conditions and phenomena, and by the suggestions of an ideal scheme of culture progress, it would vanish in thin air; and if the theory of a *glacial man* can summon to its aid no better testimony than that furnished by the examples examined in this paper, the whole scheme, so elaborately mounted and so confidently proclaimed, is in imminent danger of early collapse.[22]

A little later both men had a chance to express their views of the Trenton finds in open meeting. A symposium on recent investigations in the Delaware valley at the second Detroit Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1897 provided the occasion. We may ignore the other contributions and compare the following conclusions of Putnam and Holmes:

> *Putnam in his paper:* That this region of the Delaware valley was inhabited by man in very early times is beyond doubt; for there are thousands upon thousands of his implements as well as other indications of his occupancy from the time of the deposit of these layers of sand and clay to historic times. He must, moreover, have been somewhere on the continent, while these early deposits were forming, to have reached this spot at the close of the glacial period when the region became habitable . . . .[23]

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21 *Are there Traces of Glacial Man in the Trenton Gravels* (Journal of Geology, vol. 1, pp. 15-37, 1893); *Vestiges of Early Man in Minnesota* (American Geologist, vol. 11, pp. 219-240, 1893); *Traces of Gravel Man in Ohio* (Journal of Geology, vol. 1, pp. 147-163, 1893).

22 *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-37. In fairness to Holmes it should be stated that he rejected the evidence of glacial man in the Trenton gravels because the so-called "palaeoliths" had been found only in talus deposits. His own examination of the undisturbed gravels revealed no artifacts. The "palaeoliths," he contended, were identical with the "wasters" of recent Indian manufacture.

23 F. W. Putnam, *Early Man of the Delaware Valley* (Proceedings, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2nd Detroit meeting, 1897, vol. 46, 1898), pp. 347-348.

Holmes in his paper: . . . it may be regarded as substantially proved that the glacial gravels proper contain no relics of art, and it would appear that now very few persons, indeed, expect them to yield any evidence whatever on the subject of human occupation. Five years have passed since the earlier observations and finds were challenged,[24] and in that time, so far as I have learned, no single implement has been reported from the gravels, although the exposures are as extensive as they ever were. The first chapter in the prolonged search for glacial man at Trenton may, therefore, be regarded as practically closed . . . .[25]

Putnam in discussion: From all that has been said today, it seems to me that a considerable antiquity is admitted for this deposit. That is all the archaeologist asks for,—that the antiquity of these objects (90 percent of which are made of argillite) be admitted, and that these argillite objects be considered as belonging to an earlier occupation than that represented by the objects of jasper and chert and pottery found in the upper deposit. I think it is a grand advance if we have made it clear that the argillite culture is old and that it preceded the recent Indian culture. We have thus returned to the statement made by Doctor Abbott, in 1883, which has been confirmed by the later work.[26]

Holmes in discussion: I object to the introduction of the expression "argillite culture" which implies a well differentiated period and people. I think that in the end we shall have to attribute all the works of art found in that section to the Algonquian Indian.[27]

Although many other examples of the conflicting opinions of these two men could be cited—and including other sites besides that at Trenton—these will suffice to establish my point; namely, that these two men who, each in his turn, were to influence Hrdlička, were on opposite sides of the fence when it came to interpreting the evidence on the antiquity of man in America. In retrospect it would appear that Putnam was as much uncritical as Holmes was over-critical. Yet this is a well-known fault in debating opponents.

The stage is now set for the entry of Hrdlička. This new-comer to the anthropological field must have listened with considerable interest to the Detroit debate.[28] His participation in the general program of that meeting reflects not only his shifting interest from pathological to racial studies, but a growing interest in the anthropological work of the American Museum of Natural His-

24 See footnote 21.

25 W. H. Holmes, *Primitive Man in the Delaware Valley* (Proceedings, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2nd Detroit meeting, 1897, vol. 46, 1898), pp. 368-370.

26 *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

28 This is the first time that Hrdlička's name appears on a program of Section H. He contributed three papers in this initial appearance: one on his short-lived Pathological Institute and two on specimens collected in Mexico by Carl Lumholtz for the American Museum.

tory. Indeed it is not unlikely that he got the idea of going to the Detroit meeting while working at this museum, for Putnam was then Head Curator of the Department of Anthropology there. Hrdlička himself has stated that it was mainly through Putnam's kind offices that "he was enabled to initiate his anthropological researches among the American aborigines"; and that he became one of Putnam's "boys" in 1898.[29] It was in March of that year that he joined Lumholtz on his last trip to Mexico.

Another result of this early association between Putnam and Hrdlička brings us back to the Trenton gravels. During the many years that these gravels had been under observation, first by Dr. Abbott and then by Mr Ernest Volk, a number of human bones had been discovered. In 1898 Putnam invited Hrdlička to study them.[30] The resulting two reports, one on the crania and the other on a femur and parietal, apparently were prepared quite promptly, but although the first was published in 1902, the second did not appear until 1911.[31] The early date of these reports is important, because it establishes the point that they were written while Hrdlička was under Putnam's influence. Significantly, a restraint and a reasonableness appear in their conclusions that were quickly to disappear from his writings. In the first report he said:

> The skulls belong to another race than the Lenape or any of the eastern Indians, —of that there can be no possible doubt.... If not intrusive, the crania must be those of a people that preceded the Lenape in the Delaware Valley. This last hypothesis would be greatly strengthened by any succeeding finds of crania of a similar character.
>
> Should the existence of a pre-Lenape race in New Jersey become established as a fact, then can be approached the problem of *the antiquity of such a race, a problem almost wholly one of geology.*[32]

In the second report, concerned with the femur and parietal, he said:

> The Trenton specimens show . . . several features of their own. There are the regular scratches on the surface of both bones; and the several unquestionable marks of intentional man's work on the femur. *The determination of the age of the two*

29 Aleš Hrdlička, *Physical Anthropology; its scope and Aims; its History and Present Status in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1919), p. 50.

30 Aleš Hrdlička, *The Crania of Trenton, New Jersey, and their Bearing upon the Antiquity of Man in that Region* (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 16, art. 3, 1902), p. 25.

31 Aleš Hrdlička, *Report to Professor F. W. Putnam, on the Human Femur and Parietal* (Papers, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 5, 1911), pp. 244-247. His report bears the date of December 16, 1899.

32 *Op cit.*, 1902, p. 57. Italics mine.

bones, however, must be based principally on their location with regard to geological formation.[33]

This emphasis upon geological dating of the bones, inspired, I believe, by Putnam, is noteworthy. This suggests that if Hrdlička had remained under Putnam's influence, his subsequent attitude toward the antiquity of man in America might have been quite different. However, the other important figure of this period—Holmes—soon came to have as much influence over Hrdlička on the side opposed to any considerable antiquity for man in America as Putnam had on the side favoring this antiquity. And strange as it may seem, Holmes the geologist-archaeologist may have suggested the idea to Hrdlička of substituting morphological dating for geological dating. Yet in a cultural sense Holmes had been using the concept of morphological dating all along when he identified the so-called "palaeoliths" with the "wasters" of recent Indian manufacture.

In 1903, five years after Hrdlička became one of Putnam's "boys," he moved to Washington and became one of Holmes' "boys." Holmes had just become Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Due to his interest in physical anthropology, a division devoted to this subject was set up in the National Museum and Hrdlička was placed in charge. In view of this new allegiance, it can hardly have been a coincidence that Hrdlička promptly began to demolish by means of morphological dating the claims to antiquity being advanced for some American skeletal remains.

An example illustrating this last point, and showing also the emergence of the concept of morphological dating, is provided in the literature on the Lansing skeleton. Holmes and Hrdlička independently visited the site of this find during 1902. Holmes, who was accompanied by George A. Dorsey, was advised by the latter that the skull was identical with that of the recent Plains Indians. Perhaps with Hrdlička in mind, Holmes had the skull deposited in the National Museum. It was accessioned there on October 17, 1902 and soon thereafter seen for the second time by Hrdlička. Holmes' report came out at the end of the year, but Hrdlička's was delayed until the following summer. There is reason to believe, therefore, that Hrdlička discussed the skeleton with Holmes before sending his report to press. This accounts possibly for certain similarities in the quotations that follow:

Holmes: The anthropologist may readily find other than purely geological criteria to aid him in reaching his conclusions. It is part of our common knowledge that men have occupied the American continent for a long period, but that they occupied it during the Glacial epoch, or even at the period when the Glacial front

33 *Op. cit.*, 1911, p. 247. Italics mine.

finally receded northward, is not demonstrated. *Besides, as already mentioned, the cranium is well preserved and fresh looking, and is nearly identical with crania of our historic tribes.* Now when, as in the present case, two somewhat equally supported interpretations of the geological phenomena are possible—the one making it appear that remains of men occur in formations where they could reasonably be expected, and the other carrying human occupancy back ten thousand or twenty thousand years—the anthropologist may consistently accept, tentatively at least, the first of these interpretations, and the non-professional sudent of the subject may find it wise to at least withhold his full acceptance of either view until those geologists best qualified to discuss the special problems involved shall have reached practical unanimity.[34]

Hrdlička: . . . the Lansing skeleton is practically identical with the typical male skeleton of a large majority of the present Indians of the Middle and Eastern states. Any assumption that it is thousands of years old would carry with it not only the comparatively easily acceptable assumption of so early an existence of man on this continent, but also the very far-reaching and far more difficult conclusion that this man was physically identical with the Indian of the present time, and that his physical characteristics during all the thousands of years assumed to have passed have undergone absolutely no important modifications.[35]

The full expansion of the concept of morphological dating came in 1907, when, under Holmes' encouragement, Hrdlička prepared for the Bureau of American Ethnology the Bulletin (no. 33) entitled *Skeletal Remains Suggesting or Attributed to Early Man in North America.* Perhaps the clearest statement therein of this concept is the following:

The various finds of human remains in North America for which geological antiquity has been claimed have been thus briefly passed under review. It is seen that, irrespective of other considerations, in every instance where enough of the bones is preserved for comparison the somatological evidence bears witness against the geological antiquity of the remains and for their close affinity to or identity with those of the modern Indian. Under these circumstances but one conclusion is justified, which is that thus far on this continent no human bones of undisputed geological antiquity are known. This must not be regarded as equivalent to a declaration that there was no early man in this country; it means only that if early man did exist in North America, convincing proof of the fact from the standpoint of physical anthropology still remains to be produced.[36]

To emphasize the division between the two schools of thought as developed in the foregoing analysis I now quote from a letter from Putnam to Hrdlička

34 W. H. Holmes, *Fossil Human Remains Found near Lansing, Kansas* (American Anthropologist, vol. 4, 1902), p. 752. Italics mine.

35 Aleš Hrdlička, *The Lansing Skeleton* (American Anthropologist, vol. 5, 1903), p. 328-329. Italics mine.

36 Hrdlička, *op. cit.*, 1907, p. 98.

written February 5, 1907, at which date Bulletin 33 probably was ready for or in press:[37]

I understand that you have been out to see the "Nebraska" bones and I am interested to know of your views regarding them. Like all the evidence we are getting of the antiquity of man, *the whole question depends on the geology,* but it is interesting to know the characters of the bones. The fact that the "Kansas Man" had *a skull form like some of the Indians only means to me that the Indian type in North America is older than some have supposed,* but which has been my view for a long time as you well know. Now how do these Nebraska bones compare with the Kansas bones? Osborn has given his views as to the Nebraska skulls. Now let us have yours, and *then the geologists must give us the data as to antiquity.*

Unfortunately Hrdlička's file does not furnish a copy of his reply, but from the record it is clear that he had already charted his course and could not thus be turned away.

During the next thirty years few voices, and certainly none effectively, were raised against Hrdlička's domination of this field.[38] However, as already indicated, by 1937 new archaeological discoveries and his own fixation upon morphological dating had isolated Hrdlička in his stand on the antiquity of man in America. This emboldened Hooton at that time to liken Hrdlička to the Dutch boy at the dyke[39] and again to Horatius at the land bridge.[40] How apt these similes are may be judged from the fact that Hrdlička was almost alone among those on the Philadelphia program in denying American man any considerable age, and in basing this opinion upon morphology.[41] Moreover, at this stage as

37 This letter is preserved in the Division of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum. According to Holmes' Prefatory Note to the Bulletin, the Nebraska bones referred to in this letter were discovered just as the Bulletin was about to be published and the latter was withheld until Hrdlička's report could be included. The reference to Henry Fairfield Osborn concerns an article in the Century Magazine (vol. 73, no. 3, pp. 371-375, Jan. 1907) entitled *Discovery of a Supposed Primitive Race of Men in Nebraska.* The italics are mine.

38 That Wissler clearly saw the fallacy in Hrdlička's argument appears in his *The Present Status of the Antiquity of Man in North America* (Scientific Monthly, March, 1916), p. 234. Louis R. Sullivan also correctly sized up the situation in his *The Punin Calvarium* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 23, pt. 7, 1925) when he said "The day of anatomical determination of age is passing, particularly in America. Age is a matter to be settled by the geologist and archaeologist" (p. 324).

39 Earnest A. Hooton, *Biology and Fossil Man* (Chapter 9 in *Apes, Men and Morons,* New York, 1937), p. 111.

40 Earnest A. Hooton, *The Enigma of Fossil Man* (Chapter 8 in *Apes, Men and Morons*), p. 102.

41 See *Early Man, as Depicted by Leading Authorities at the International Symposium, The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, March,* 1937 (Philadelphia and New York, 1937). Herbert J. Spinden on the archaeological side also was a dissentor.

I have shown elsewhere,[42] he was not beyond twisting the bones to make them say what he wanted.

In spite of Hrdlička's valiant lone effort at Philadelphia to date the bones by morphology rather than by geology, the opinion on this issue now most widely accepted is that so nicely stated by Hooton at that same famous symposium:

> To me it seems clear that the Late Pleistocene antiquity of a human skeleton found in the New World cannot be refuted by a demonstration of the modernity of its anatomical characters alone. *Homo sapiens* was full-fledged in the Old World before the end of the glacial period. Late glacial entrants into the Americas need not prove their age by an array of archaic and simian physical features. The acid test of their antiquity must be geological.... On the whole, it seems to me that American anthropologists, without relaxing their determination to submit each find of allegedly fossil man to every possible test of archaeological, geological and palaeontolotical antiquity, should not impose unreasonable morphological restrictions upon candidates for recognition.[43]

This background explains in large measure, and at the same time places in an amusing light, the case of "Minnesota Man." This skeleton was found and described by Jenks just prior to the Philadelphia symposium. Being encouraged by his friend Hooton to put this find on record, and yet anticipating perhaps the disapproval of his friend Hrdlička, Jenks tended to exaggerate the degree of primitiveness of certain morphological characters. For example, he says:

> In the... morphological characterization, similarities of primitive features between Minnesota Man and the primates, paleolithic man, and living primitive groups have been pointed out. It is our intention in the previous chapters and in this characterization definitely to indicate, as stated in the Introduction, that our skeleton is that of a primitive, and in some respects, unusual *Homo sapiens*. This conclusion is further emphasized by the rating of the Minnesota skull according to Hooton's morphological scale.[44]

If this was intended to forestall Hrdlička's morphological dating, it failed, because he would not admit that the traits were primitive and claimed instead that "Minnesota Man" was none other than a modern Sioux maid.[45]

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42 T. D. Stewart, *A Re-examination of the Fossil Human Skeletal Remains from Melbourne, Florida. With Further Data on the Vero Skull* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 106, no. 10, 1946).

43 Hooton, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 112.

44 Albert Ernest Jenks, *Pleistocene Man in Minnesota: a Fossil Homo sapiens* (Minneapolis, 1936), p. 171.

45 Aleš Hrdlička, *The Minnesota "Man"* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 22, pp. 175-199, 1937).

One other case is pertinent to this review. Taking a stand quite the opposite to that of Hrdlička, Keith, as early as 1915, accepted the geological dating of early American man and drew support therefrom for his view that the modern type of man is very old. He says, for example:

> ...It is...plain that, long before the last period of glaciation, the Asiatic ancestry of the American Indian must have been in existence. We obtain, by researches carried out in Europe, a glimpse of Palaeolithic man in the western part of the old world; the discovery at Trenton gives us, indirectly, the information we stood in need of, namely, that, at an equally early part of the Palaeolithic period, men of the modern type were in existence in the eastern part of the old world. It is plain, to account for modern man in Europe, in Asia, in America, long before the close of the Ice age, we must assign his origin and evolution to a very remote period.[46]

Yet in 1931 Keith wavered. He complained that "Much of what we know concerning the prehistory of the New World cannot be fitted into the scheme of knowledge which holds for the Old World."[47] By this time apparently, he too had been affected by the concept of morphological dating, because he says that

> ...The racial body is unstable; it must change with the passage of time. It is the application of this law which makes me more and more sceptical of the geological evidence which assigns a high antiquity to modern types such as are represented by Galley Hill man and the Olmo man.[48]

Unfortunately for Keith, recent evidence from France bearing out his original view makes it all too evident that he should have stuck to geological dating.[49]

In concluding this review it seems desirable to go back and underscore a few points. First of all, it should be remembered that we have been considering only one of the arguments—that directly involving the bones—used by the conservatives against early man in America. Hand in hand with this argument have gone others tending to undermine the archaeological and geological circumstances surrounding the skeletal finds. Had it not been for this fact, as subsequent events prove, the concept of morphological dating could not have been

46 Arthur Keith, *The Antiquity of Man* (London, 1915; 2nd ed. in 2 vols., 1925), p. 278 (465).

47 Sir Arthur Keith, *New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man* (New York, 1931), p. 314.

48 *Op. cit.*, 1931, p. 30.

49 Hallam L. Movius, Jr., *Tayacian Man from the Cave of Fontéchevade (Charente)* (American Anthropologist, vol. 50, pp. 365-367, 1948).

utilized so effectively. Indeed, it collapsed soon after the Folsom finds became established on a geological basis.

Second, I think it is clear that Holmes, the early leader of the conservatives, was the first to see the possibilities of morphological dating as an argument against the antiquity of the bones. However, he seems to have realized that this argument would be more effective in the hands of a physical anthropologist. Whether or not this consideration had any bearing on Hrdlička's appointment in the National Museum does not appear. Nevertheless, as soon as Holmes got Hrdlička to take up the fight, using this new weapon, he restricted his own participation to an occasional warning about current archaeological and geological interpretations.

Third, it is surprising that, over such a long period, Hrdlička met with so little opposition from other anthropologists to his placing the importance of morphology above that of geology for dating purposes. Throughout Hrdlička's reign it should have been abundantly clear in the larger view of evolution that the course of morphological change was being accurately charted only on the basis of geological chronology. Therefore human evolution, in spite of the inexactness of Late and Post-Pleistocene chronology, should not have been permitted to be an exception. Yet this counter argument was not advanced effectively until 1937 when the International Symposium on Early Man focused attention on Hrdlička's anomalous position.

Fourth, and finally, this example from the history of American anthropology should arouse suspicion as to the reliability of schemes wherein ancient human types from other parts of the world are ranked primarily on the basis of morphology. I have in mind especially Weidenreich's "Pedigree of the Hominidae" which lists "ten evolutionary phases . . . according to their morphological sequence."[50] Weidenreich was frank to admit the weakness of this scheme, as for example when he says:

> Calling the giants morphologically older than all other known human types presumes that the giants from Java and China are not only more primitive but also geologically older than Pithecanthropus. There are merely indications in this direction so far, no evidence.[51]

However, at least one recent writer has missed the tentative nature of this reconstruction and assumed that all anthropologists accept morphology as the basis

50 Franz Weidenreich, *Apes, Giants, and Man* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 29-30.
51 *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

for tracing lines of descent.[52] It is hoped that this review will help readers avoid such mistakes in the future.

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52 R. Ruggles Gates, *Human Ancestry from a Genetical Point of View* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948). I refer to such statements as the following: "Fossil remains of man have now become numerous enough in the different continents to trace independent lines of descent. One of the clearest of these, accepted by all anthropologists, is from Pithecanthropus to the Australian aborigines . . ." (pp. 6-7).

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE SOVIET UNION[1]

HENRY FIELD AND KATHLEEN PRICE

DURING 1948 about thirty archaeological expeditions were at work from the Ukraine to Siberia and from the Far North to Central Asia.

The following notes are based on the 1947-1948 season or upon reports based on previous work but until recently unpublished. In this compilation we have data from European Russia, the Crimea, Kama region, Central Asia, and Siberia.

European Russia—1. According to N. Voronin the new plan of Vladimir (in central Russia, east of Moscow), which should be dated in 1715, provides clues regarding the earlier topography of the city even as far back as the twelfth-thirteenth centuries or earlier. To summarize:

(a) Considerably before the time of Vladimir Monomachus. During the ninth-tenth centuries, there was, on the future site of the town, an important center of population, which was inhabited by artisans and merchants who apparently dwelt on the lower eastern slopes of the high ground bordering the Klyazma River.

(b) The events which marked the end of the ninth century (the struggle with Oleg Sviatoslavovich for hegemony in Suzdal) led Monomachus to build a fortress-town, between 1098 and 1108, on the neighboring heights. This was the central portion of Vladimir's fortifications which formed the origin of an independent closed fortress within the town.

(c) During the reigns of Monomachus, Iuri, and Andrew, the main residence

1 These miscellaneous items have been translated by Mrs Price and edited by Henry Field from publications received through VOKS, Moscow. The Russian Journals have been presented to the Peabody Museum, Harvard. Mrs David Huxley translated the section on European Russia from the French résumé. The material has been arranged to conform to the previously published articles in collaboration with Eugene V. Prostov. See also *Anthropology in the Soviet Union, 1945* (American Anthropologist, vol. 48, pp. 375-376, 1946: *nb.* footnote 57); *Recent Archaeological Investigations in the Soviet Union* (American Review of the Soviet Union, vol. 7, pp. 67-74, 1946); B. A. Kuftin, *Prehistoric Culture Sequence in Transcaucasia* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 2, pp. 340-360, 1946); *Review of Soviet Archaeology, 1919-1945, in Historic Perspective* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 3, pp. 212-229, 1947); *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 110, no. 13, 1948); and American Journal of Archaeology, 1935-1949 (H.F.)

was situated next to the fortress inhabited by the townspeople on the slopes to the west of the Klyazma River. This is proven by the location of the earliest cultural edifices of the town, such as the Church of the Saviour and St George.

(d) As a result, the fortifications erected by Andrew were primarily to protect the western part of the town, where the prince lived, and in that part of the city lay its main entrance, the Golden Gate. The ramparts to the east and the eastern entrance, the Silver Gate, date from this time.

(e) The revolutions of 1177 and 1185 were followed by the annihilation of the old boyars throughout the principality by Vsevolod, and the final decline of their power in Vladimir led to the removal of the court to the central part of the town. However, even there the section of the town occupied by the prince was fortified; the princely and episcopal residences were surrounded by the ramparts of the citadel which included the southwest corner of the central town. In order to prevent any new uprising by those connected with trade in the city, the market was moved, under Vsevolod, to the lower part of the town, the "podol," beneath the prince's "hill" in the central section of the town.

2. The Iur'ev Monastery is one of the oldest monasteries in Novgorod. Its foundation and development are linked with the political history of the "Gorodishche" of Novgorod, which, at the beginning of the twelfth century, became the residence of the prince, and the symbol and rampart of his authority. Since then, the monastery has been one of the main centers of political activity in Novgorod: it was there that the chronicles were written, and St George's Cathedral in the monastery replaced St Sophia as the sepulcher of the princes. The cathedral of St George was founded in 1119 by Prince Vsevolod. During the first half of the fourteenth century, all of the original monastery buildings, churches, defenses, and dependencies, except the cathedral, were destroyed. The latter was crudely restored in a manner which altered its original aspect. It was surrounded on three sides by lean-tos which obscured the lower half of the façades, while the upper half was thrown out of balance by the walling up of the original niches and windows. The interior was also much altered: the shape of the pillars was modified, ancient frescoes destroyed, and the floor raised.

In recent years the north, south, and west sides were cleared of superimposed structures: a number of windows and niches, walled-up during the nineteenth century restoration, were cleared around the building, as were some remarkably well-preserved entrances. A large number of recesses and windows were also opened up on the tower which flanks the northwest corner of the cathedral.

The decorative scheme of the façades, which was reconstructed following

research and restoration, makes the cathedral akin to the architectural monuments of Kiev and traditional Byzantine art.

Under the nineteenth century floor of cast-metal slabs, excavation uncovered the original floor made of large stone slabs laid on a limestone bed. In the layer of rubble between the two floors, there were found thousands of fragments of frescoes destroyed during the nineteenth century restoration.

Underneath the original floor, nine tombs were unearthed, four of which were in stone sarcophagi, three in brick vaults, and two in tree trunks.

The location of the tombs and their contents, X-ray analysis of the bones, and a study of chronicles concerning burials in the cathedral, have made it possible not only to assign exact dates to all the tombs, but also to ascribe them to definite historic personalities. For example, four tombs contained the remains of: (a) Princess Euphrosine, wife of Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodovich and mother of Prince Alexander Nevski, who died in 1241; (b) her son Fedor, younger brother of Alexander Nevski, who died in 1233; and (c) two young sons of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirovich, who were buried together in a double sarcophagus in 1198.

In three brick vaults were important boyars of Novgorod, who lived between the twelfth-fourteenth centuries. Many details of their lives and political activities are contained in Novgorod chronicles. Two of them, Miron Nezdinich (known as Miroshka) and his son Dimitri Miroshkinich, were interred in a double vault, the first in 1203, the second in 1209. The third, Semen Borisovich, died in 1230. The identification of two monks in sepulchers contained in hollowed tree trunks has not been possible.

3. Among the representations of Boris and Gleb appearing in early Russian art, the group showing the saints holding models of churches in their hands has remained a mystery to this day. Similar pictures are found on several folding crosses, which are similar in architectural design and which are cast in copper alloy, and on a late twelfth century miniature in a manuscript preserved in the Historical Museum at Moscow. This miniature has been discussed in scientific literature since 1866, but has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Several authors believe it to be Prince Vsevolod-Gavriil of Pskov; others decline to identify it. Contrary to the current theory, there are traces remaining on the miniature of an inscription bearing the name of Boris, the saint which it represents.

The slain princes were interred at Vyshgorod, a small town near Kiev. The originator of the cult was their brother, Grand Duke Iaroslav the Good of Kiev.

With the intention of affirming his authority and to emphasize the independence of the Russian Church from Byzantium, he set out to popularize the veneration of the first Russian saints. The first church dedicated to Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod was built about 1026 by Iaroslav the Good. The coffins of Boris and Gleb were placed within this five-domed wooden church.

About 1072, Iaroslav's successor, Grand Duke Iziaslav of Kiev built a second church to Boris and Gleb, also of wood but with a single dome, and transferred the sarcophagus of the saints to it. At this time, the veneration of the warrior saints and their place of burial, had already reached a wide stage of development. Naturally, a new icon was painted for this new church. It is quite probable that the representation of Boris and Gleb on this icon is that reproduced on the corporal crosses with figures of the warrior saints, where the elder [Boris] holds in his hand a model of the first church (five-domed), and the younger [Gleb] holds a model of the second (single dome). The earliest crosses of this type possibly date from the time of the construction of the new church and the removal of the relics of the saints. Later, these crosses, which were used as healing charms, were frequently copied, but with a strict adherence to the original shape and decorative composition.

Each new prince of Kiev sought to build his own church at Vyshgorod dedicated to Boris and Gleb and to have their relics moved to it. This is explained by the desire of acquiring preëminent right of possession of the holy relics and to have these saints as their patrons.

Among the Russian populace, Boris and Gleb are venerated as warrior saints, available to all, while in princely circles, they were revered primarily as the patrons of princes. This new tendency, which was in fact present in the original conception behind the launching of the cult by Iaroslav the Good, was also accepted by the leaders of the Church. A new iconography of the saints arose. It is most probable that the new design which showed Boris and Gleb as warrior princes, armed with swords, appeared for the first time in a painting or icon made for the church built at Vyshgorod in 1111 by Oleg Sviatoslavovich, Prince of Chernigov. The above-mentioned miniature conforms by its date [late twelfth century] to the time when Boris and Gleb were commonly depicted as warrior princes. It was painted either for a church at Vyshgorod, or for a person connected with this town who may have been named Boris [Roman]. By the thirteenth century, when the Vyshgorod period of the veneration declined and when the relics were lost in the devastation of Kiev and Vyshgorod, the pictures of Boris and Gleb holding the holy churches (especially linked with Vyshgorod)

gradually disappeared from current use and there remained only pictures depicting them as warrior princes.

Crimea—A. IAkobson studied the two medieval baths (ninth-tenth centuries) at Chersonesus. One of the baths in the northeastern section of the town stands in the central square of the district. It dates from the ninth-tenth centuries and has been previously described. The other was unearthed during excavations undertaken in 1937, in the courtyard of a large private residence in one of the riverside districts; this was clearly a private bath and dates from the thirteenth century. According to IAkobson's reconstruction, the two baths show similarities of plan. They have similar arrangements of undressing rooms, soaping chambers, and location of water-heating rooms beneath the entrance, the same underground heating system and the same method of water heating.

Similar plans are found in baths in medieval Armenia, e.g., at Anberda (ninth-twelfth centuries), at Ami (twelfth-thirteenth centuries), and at Dmanisi in Georgia (thirteenth century). This was a common type and existed in Armenia as late as the eighteenth century in the Tatev Monastery at Zangezur.

However, there is no reason to believe that this type of bath was introduced into the Chersonesus from Transcaucasia. It is more likely that historically they originated in the social life of the medieval towns of Asia Minor, with which Chersonesus had a close and uninterrupted relationship. The links between that society and Transcaucasia are well known and are sufficient to explain the similarities of construction between the bath of Chersonesus and those of Georgia and, particularly, of Armenia.

Kama Region—Archeological materials from excavation of ancient monuments of the Urals and the Kama region in the eastern headwaters of the Volga collected from 1920-1930 by A. V. Schmidt, D. N. Eding, N. A. Prokoshev, P. A. Dmitriev, M. V. Talitskii, K. V. Salnikov, G. V. Podgaetskii and others is by no means exhausted by publications in Vol 1 of "Materials."

The most valuable articles are by N. A. Prokoshev, "Concerning the Problem of Neolithic Monuments of the Kama-Ural Region," and L. A. Matsulevich, "Byzantian Antiquities of the Kama Region."[2]

One of the most difficult questions is the problem of the Neolithic peoples of the Kama region. Up to the discovery of the Paleolithic site at Ostrovskii it was believed that the Kama basin had been settled relatively late, i.e. in the Bronze Age.

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2 See Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vol. 31, pp. 123-126, 1947.

After the discovery of the Paleolithic settlements along the river Chusovaia a search was begun for Neolithic traces.

Schmidt and Prokoshev found late Neolithic sites near the mouth of the river Chusovaia, where they found a group of more or less contemporary settlements, part placed on the edge of the second over-water terrace and part where water gathers in the low hills. Most of the sites were badly damaged and yielded indefinite data.

The best preserved and at the same time the oldest station was Levshinskaia. Here were found flint weapons—mainly small-bladed—clay fragments, and two kilns. There were also fragments of polished tools and many stone sinkers. The pottery was of several types: (a) large vessels with round or conical tops; (b) many fine vessels of various shapes; and a few with flat bottoms. The ornamentation consists mainly of tooth-edged stamps of various design covering the entire vessel. The most interesting finds were a bronze awl and a knife of "Catacomb" type.

This station proved to be of the late Neolithic or Eneolithic, a period when metal objects were highly esteemed and too costly and too rare to change the type of culture which was actually Neolithic, attributed to the period from the end of the third to the beginning of the second millennium BC.

At Gorbunovo D. N. Eding found the remains of a sacrificial place together with wooden snakes, a bronze axe with a heavy butt, a clay plummet, a round-based vessel, and half a mold for spearpoints. The latter occurred with pottery at a much higher level in the peat, in form and ornament differing greatly from that at a lower level. For this reason Eding estimates this complex to be of a much later date. The clay plummet is identical with those from the eastern Ural site discovered by P. A. Dmitriev.

N. V. Salnikov and G. V. Podgaetzskii describe the excavation of the Andronovo tombs of the southern Urals in the Tedorovki-Cheliabinsk region and near Mount Orska. The former consist of entombments in kurgans, in which cremation was the predominant method used. Among objects in tombs near Mount Orska elements of the western culture of the Bronze Age can be observed.

Zbrueva describes the Ananino stations at Galinskaia and Svinogorskaia. The chief occupations were agriculture and cattle-raising. Their herds included all contemporary domestic animals—horses, cows, sheep, and pigs. At Svinogoraia pigs were chiefly raised. Hunting and fishing had only a secondary significance.

The articles by N. A. Prokoshev, "Settlement in Ancient Turbino," and K. V. Salnikov, "Sarmatian Kurgans near Mount Orska," describe monuments of 300-400 AD, located in the region at the mouth of the river Chusovaia and in southern Priuralia. Sarmatian kurgans were found only in southern Priuralia and form a special group of steppe monuments, only slightly connected with the original settlers of the Kama basin. The description of the graves by Salnikov shows them to be connected with the monuments of the lower Volga. Among objects found in the male tombs were bronze belts, buckles, sometimes silver-plated and with sewn leather.

Central Asia—The three ethnographical sections of the 1947 expedition under S. P. Tolstov continued the systematic historical-ethnographical investigation of the inhabitants of the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. in the Khwarazmian region of the Uzbek S.S.R., which had already been started in 1945.

1. The Kara-Kalpak Ethnographical Section worked on the territory of the Kegeylin region. The route of the Section covered the area of the chief dissemination of various national groups and of the principal historical monuments of the region. The basic studies were carried out at eight collective farms inhabited by Kara-Kalpaks.

As a result of this survey a detailed ethnographical map of the Kegeylin region was made. This area is characterized by the very varied racial composition of its inhabitants. Beside the predominant Kara-Kalpak settlement live considerable groups of Uzbeks and Kazakhs. The Iranians are particularly interesting—descendants of prisoners driven into slavery at the time of the dominion of the Khivan khans. These people were freed in 1873 by a treaty concluded by Mukhammed-Rakhim-Khan with Russia.

At the present time this group of Iranian inhabitants forms two of the collective farms of the Kegeylin region ("Stalinabad" and "Ordzhonikidze"). They have maintained their anthropological type in a very vivid way although in language, culture, and habits they are completely assimilated with the Kara-Kalpaks.

The Kara-Kalpaks of the Kegeylin region, whose ancestors originally belonged to two large tribes—Keneges and Mangyt—were settled on the territory they now occupy along the left bank of the canal of Kegeyli at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The historical information collected by the Section brought legends to life and filled out the scanty data of the Khivan chronicles of this period when the fertile, thickly populated lands of the Kara-Kalpaks, located to the east of

the Khanate of Khiva in the lower reaches of the Zhana-Darya, were subjected to the devastating incursions of the Khivan troops and finally were conquered by Khiva. Having subjected the Zhana-Darynsk Kara-Kalpaks, the Khivan government resettled them on the unconquered desert land of the central part of the Amu-Darya delta. After many decades of persistent work, the Kara-Kalpaks transformed this delta land into a flourishing region.

The Section recorded stories preserved among the people of the knights and beys, who in this period led the struggle of the Kara-Kalpaks against Khiva, of the making of the first canals by the Kara-Kalpaks, and about the irrigation of the present Kegeylin region (Kegeli, Tarli).

In accord with the plan for the collection of historical material concerning the everyday life of the community and the survival of the communal-clan form among the Kara-Kalpaks, old men were drawn into the work—local experts on the Kara-Kalpak habits and traditions: this more accurately defined the system of the numerous clans and subdivisions of the Mangyt and Keneges tribes.

The information thus collected, filling out the insufficient data of the 1945 and 1946 investigations, makes it possible to present a complete description of the tribal structure of the Kara-Kalpaks during the nineteenth and up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Of special interest was the collection of a number of drawings, sketches, and photographs, characterizing the local specialties of material culture and folk art of the group of Kara-Kalpaks studied. Several types of carpets, not seen in other regions of this Republic, were found. On numerous examples of embroidered ornamentation of old clothing, the written nomenclature and the meaning of the decorative elements were defined.

An abundant material on dwellings, clothing, and art (including carpeting, embroidery, wood-carving, inscriptions on wood), accumulated by the first Kara-Kalpak Section of the Expedition during a three-year exploration over a wide territory of five regions of the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. (Chimbay, Kegeylin, Muynak, Kungrad, and Khodzheylin), offers a valuable source for the clarification of the historico-ethnical and cultural links of the Kara-Kalpaks with the other peoples of Khwarazm—the Uzbeks, Turkomans, and Kazakhs.

2. The Northern Uzbek Ethnographical Section continued the study of the Uzbek settlement of the Kungrad and Khodzheylin regions of the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. It collected new materials concerning historical traditions, the survival of tribal divisions and family customs, and the material culture of these regions.

In addition, architectural measurement of contemporary Uzbek dwellings of northern Khwarazm were made.

3. The Southern Uzbek Ethnographical Section carried out work in two regions: on the right bank of the Amu-Darya in the Turkul and Shabbaz regions of the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. and in Khiva and its surroundings, in the Khwarazmian district of the Uzbek S.S.R.

The material collected by the Section in the Turkul and Shabbaz regions is of great interest. It concerns the question of the origin of the Uzbek settlement on the right bank of southern Khwarazm. It is clear that here the overwhelming mass of Uzbeks are the descendants of relatively recent comers from various regions of the left bank who moved in during the nineteenth century. This is confirmed by archeological data which record the complete devastation of the right bank of southern Khwarazm after the Mongol invasion and the devastating incursions of Timur (Tamerlane).

Folk traditions about the origin of various cities and strongholds were recorded.

Ethnographical studies and architectural measurements of contemporary southern Khwarazmian constructions show direct succession between the contemporary Khwarazmian-Uzbek houses and the medieval buildings of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.

Rich material was collected about the national calendar, offering particular interest for its comparison with the Khwarazmian calendar recorded by Al-Birun (eleventh century) and used in his time. Other valuable data were gathered about marriage and family customs and other matters connected with the material and spiritual culture of the Uzbeks of southern Khwarazm.

Siberia—1. A. P. Okladnikov continued investigation of Neolithic monuments, especially the settlement sixty kilometers from Irkutsk along the Kullata-Khora River. Investigations were also conducted on Fandeia Island and on the mainland.

2. N. N. Gribanovskii describes the rock drawings which represent for the most part animals, hunting scenes, and domestic life. These are found on the upper Lena River system, including the Olekma, the Chara, the Tokko, the Maya, the Nyuya, the Aldan, and the Markho, and near the river-stops of Bestya and Tit-Ara. In the northern regions the drawings are cut into the rocks; in the south they are in red paint.

Gribanovskii then cites reports from other sources:

(a) P. Kh. Staratov, regional specialist, states that there are rock drawings beside the road from Viluisk to Olekminsk.

(b) E. D. Strelov wrote in a letter dated March 6, 1937:

You know about the rock drawings on the Maya and the Olekma. We must add to these the drawings between the stations Tit-Ara and Toyen-Ara on the Lena. It appears that Ksenafontov wrote about one of these; this is a large drawing on a perpendicular rock protruding above the level of the Lena. It represents, according to my opinion, a male and a female elk and calf and above them is a mark like two crossed horns. The animals are standing with their heads together. The drawing in red paint can be seen from a distance on the left bank of the river.

Not far from this drawing, near the mouth of the stream, on its right bank and almost on the level of the water is a cave facing the Lena River. Outside on a rock facing the flowing stream is a shaman with a tambourine in his raised hand and a series of marks written in a line. Near Bestyakh Station is the so-called "Suruk-an" with many drawings. Peter Maltsev said that he had also seen a drawing of a deer on a rock on the Chara near the school. Finally, from Aga Yonov, an inhabitant of Olekminsk, I learn that on the upper reaches of the Markha, a tributary of the Lena, there are many drawings on a rock. To reach the place, one has to go from Markhachan Station. I must caution you that Ksenofontov also saw drawings near Tit-Ara, but according to his opinion they were of a bull and a deer: either we saw different drawings or he was mistaken. I well remember that the horns were elk-horns (shovel-like) and not deer-antlers (bushy). My opinion is that all these drawings were done by Evenks because the majority are on the territory occupied by Evenks in places where the cattle-breeding Yakuts could not have lived.

In addition, I remember that during the Aldan Expedition, when crossing the territory of seven tribes of Kangalass Evenks, in the taiga, on the tracks used by the Evenks when they wandered from the Lena to the Aldan, I repeatedly had seen light carvings on trees with drawings in charcoal similar in character to rock drawings. The Evenks (Mafusalovs) denied that the drawings were done by them, although I well knew that they were their inscriptions. Finally, on one occasion I succeeded in deciphering one drawing of two deer and an iron stove. It appears that this "note" had been left by the elder Mafusalov for his son who had lagged behind and who was following somewhere behind us. The drawing meant something like this: "At this camping-place we have left you two deer and an iron stove. Find the deer, take the stove and follow after us."

(c) From N. N. Berezkin, the regional expert of Kolymsk, the following report was received:

(d) On the streamlet Khunkhand, a tributary on the right bank of the Omolon, on a rock 4.0 m above the water on the right bank, twenty-seven kilometers from its mouth, is carved a running deer without horns, a dog with its tongue out, and behind a man armed with a bow and arrow on skiis.

(e) On the river Lisa, a tributary on the right bank of the Berezovka, on a

rock 3.0 m above the water, on the left bank, fifty-five kilometers from the mouth, is a carving of a man upside down. Near him on one side is the head of an elk with horns and on the other side a bow with broken strings. A local hunter interpreted it thus: "Here, a man who was the best hunter of the clan was killed by an elk and at the same place the elk itself was killed later."

(f) In the former Verkhyansk district, on the left bank of the Khar-Delon, a tributary of the Ulakhan-Sarkyryr, there is a carving of a man 4.0 m above the water, on Suruktakh rock. The carving is of a hunter with a bow and arrows aiming at a squirrel sitting in a tree. An old Evenk (Tungus) interpreted it thus: "Here, long ago was the birthplace of squirrels and there was always a great number of them for the hunter."

(g) In the former Seymchansk region, on the left tributary of the Buyunda-Churit, on the right bank, 18.0 kilos from the mouth, on a rock 1.5 m above the water is carved a deer with antlers; after him is a man with a bow aiming an arrow at the deer and behind the man a cross.

Berezkin, who saw the above-mentioned drawings all carved in gray sandstone, ascribes them to the Evenks (Tungus).

Drawings were also reported along the path from Anadyr to the former Anyuysk fortress. Some were representations of letters; the others were of deer, squirrels, or sables.

3. V. Kononov described the results of analyses made on samples of cloth taken from Hun tombs at Ilmovaya Pad during the excavation undertaken by G. Sosnovskii in 1928-1929. Their composition is entirely similar to cloth found in the tumuli of Noin-Ula, which were explored by members of the Koslov Expedition to Mongolia and Tibet. This cloth was made of good quality natural silk. It falls into several types, according to weave and thickness: (a) multicolored ornamented cloth (two-color and three-color); (b) diamond-patterned net; (c) silk-embroidered cloth; and (d) plain-weave muslins and cloths.

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CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BALL COURTS IN ARIZONA

ALBERT H. SCHROEDER

CONSIDERABLE time has passed since the large oval depressions, now known as ball courts, were first archaeologically recorded in southern Arizona. During the past fifty-odd years these features have been referred to as reservoirs, sun temples, and the like, and it was not until Gila Pueblo conducted its investigations at Snaketown in 1934 that their identity as ball courts was definitely established. In the final publication of this excavation, Dr Haury fully covered the archaeological history of these courts, described their features, and compared the data with those on known ball courts in Middle America most convincingly.[1] Additional courts have been recorded in several parts of Arizona since then, and have materially substantiated Gila Pueblo's findings.

We now have a relative wealth of information concerning these courts, but their archaeological significance is uncertain, due mainly to the very nature of the evidence. However, there are two avenues of approach which may aid in a final synthesis; namely, the comparison of the courts on an areal and temporal basis, and consideration of the cultural forces involved at the time of the construction and use of ball courts.

In beginning, a brief review of the facts pertaining to ball courts is necessary. Two types have been recognized in the Southwest, distinguished on the basis of the traits presented in Table 1 on the following page, which are those presented by Haury,[2] with the addition of more recent information.

The salient points of Haury's demonstration of the similarity of the earlier Snaketown court to Middle American courts are given in Table 2.

On the basis of the above, the following traits in the Southwest might be considered as having diffused from Middle America: the idea of the court itself, the shape of the court, the use of a prepared floor with occasional markers, and the construction of sloping walls with facings. The modification in shape, the type of wall facing, and the differences in the floors may be explained most simply by environmental differences in building materials. Since stone was not plentiful in the southern Arizona desert, earthen walls were constructed and faced with plaster instead of stone.[3] Even within the Southwest we find environment affect-

1 Haury, in Gladwin, *Excavations at Snaketown*, pp. 36-43.
2 *Idem*, p. 45.
3 *Idem*, p. 48.

TABLE 1

Trait	*Snaketown Type*	*Casa Grande Type*
Shape	Modified "I"	Oval
Size (relative)	Large	Small
Orientation	East-west	North-south
Floor Markers	Three on long axis	Usually three
End features	Large semi-circular unit	Small opening leading onto platforms or aprons
Floor	Prepared	Prepared
Walls	Sloping and plastered	Sloping and plastered
Association	Hohokam	Hohokam and Mogollon or blend
Location	Gila Basin and south tributaries, and Salt River valley	Same, plus middle Verde, north and east of Flagstaff, and south of the Gila into the Chiricahua range
Dates	Circa 700-1050 or 1100 AD	Circa 1050-1300 plus AD
Remarks	Only one excavated	

TABLE 2

Trait	*Middle America*	*Snaketown Type*
Shape	Capital "I"	Modified "I"
Floor	Flat, skirted by terrace	Depressed, no terrace
Markers	Occasional three on long axis	Three on long axis
Rings	Absent	Absent
Orientation	Variable	East-west
Size (relative)	Small[4]	Large

4 Based on the sloping wall courts of Middle America which Blom considers to be the earliest type. See Blom, *Mayan Ball-Game*, 1932, pp. 487-530.

ing the material employed. The use of earth lent itself to rounded rather than angular corners, and perhaps in itself explains the lack of a terrace skirting the floor. Rain wash in all probability carried considerable wall material onto the floor edges, causing the effect of a depressed floor though in reality the edges were raised. These differences are minor and require little discussion. The obvious points of disagreement in the above comparison, size and orientation, are far more pertinent, but before treating them, the distribution and development of the two Southwestern types will be considered.

To date, the conventional east-west "Snaketown" type of court has been associated only with the Hohokam culture of southern Arizona in the Gila basin, Santa Cruz valley, San Pedro valley and in the lower Salt River valley. It is not until about 1050 AD that any courts are encountered in non-Hohokam areas; and after that date all are of the north-south "Casa Grande" type, including those in Hohokam territory proper. These latter courts occur as far north as Wupatki National Monument and string south, passing east of Flagstaff, into the middle Verde, lower Salt, and Middle Gila valleys. They continue south, scattering from the Gila into the Santa Cruz and San Pedro valleys as far east as the Chiricahuas. It is quite evident that the idea of the court diffused from the Hohokam region into neighboring areas.

The change from the Snaketown court to the Casa Grande type court is marked by a contraction in size, a degeneration of the end units, and a shift in orientation. However, there are two courts known which might be termed "transitional" in type. One is on the northern periphery of the Hohokam territory, in the middle Verde valley. This court is large like the Snaketown court, but like the Casa Grande court, is oriented north-south and lacks end features. The other similar court noted is on the San Pedro River on the southeastern fringe of the Hohokam region.[5] Both these transitional courts are tentatively dated between 900 and 1100 AD. Peculiarly enough, both are situated in the two areas which border the regions into which ball courts spread after 1050 AD. Both are located in areas where the Hohokam bordered on another culture. Moreover, Casa Grande courts are found in the same area, one being only one hundred feet away from the transitional example in the middle Verde area. This suggests an interesting postulation, if these are truly transitional courts. Either we have a coincidence, independent invention with diffusion in both directions, or a single diffusion from a yet unknown central point.

The diffusion of ball courts into northern Arizona can be postulated with

5 Tuthill, *Tres Alamos Site*, pp. 38-43.

some degree of certainty. Briefly, the already mentioned "transitional" court in the Verde valley was being used between 900 and 1100 AD. Some sixty miles to the north at Winona, just east of Flagstaff, the Museum of Northern Arizona uncovered a northern Sinagua site with the addition of Hohokam traits, a few of which were cremations, red-on-buff pottery, and a Casa Grande ball court. This dual occupancy apparently began about 1070 AD.[6] The closest Hohokam and the nearest Casa Grande courts were in the middle Verde valley. Thus, the Casa Grande court must have developed prior to this diffusion. Two such courts occur in the middle Verde associated with Hohokam culture, which faded out completely in this region by 1100 AD.[7] Thus a beginning date for the late court in northern Arizona might be placed anywhere between 1070 and 1130 AD (dates of Winona),[8] and may be restricted further to 1100 AD (Hohokam abandonment of the Verde valley). Further research by Dr Colton has demonstrated that all other ball courts (all Casa Grande type) found in northern Arizona are associated with northern Sinagua sites and that none of these reveal any or as many Hohokam traits in the vicinity as were found at Winona.[9] Apparently the Hohokam of the Verde valley introduced the court at Winona and the northern Sinagua carried it on in northern Arizona.

A further analysis of these two peripheral areas in which the "transitional" type courts exist reveals slightly varying situations. The southeastern area, in which Tuthill found the other transitional court, shows an actual blend of Hohokam and Mogollon traits, while the northern Hohokam periphery was separated from the Southern Sinagua by a gap of some twelve miles, as has been established by surveys of the Museum of Northern Arizona.[10] This no man's land was not crossed until about 1125 AD at which time the Southern Sinagua moved southward across it into the Verde valley proper.[11] Considerable trade, however, as is evidenced by pottery, crossed this unoccupied area prior to 1125 AD.[12] Thus the two areas under discussion differed in the degree of cultural contact, a blend versus trade, but the opportunity for the exchange of ideas was

6 McGregor, *Winona Village*, pp. 274-275.

7 Schroeder, *Did the Sinagua of the Verde Valley Settle, etc.*, p. 232.

8 McGregor, *Winona and Ridge Ruin*, p. 275.

9 Colton, *The Sinagua*, p. 185.

10 Colton, *The Sinagua*, p. 304.

11 *Idem.*, p. 304. The earliest black-on-white pottery occurring at Southern Sinagua sites in the Verde valley proper are Flagstaff and Walnut Black-on-white, both of which have a beginning date of 1125 AD.

12 Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

present in each area and must be considered as a possibility in the development of the story.

As mentioned earlier, the chief points of disagreement between the early Middle American and Snaketown courts were those of size and orientation. It will also be noted that size and orientation are the only differences between the Snaketown and Casa Grande courts. The degeneration of end features in the latter case is opposed to the increase in size of end units between Middle American and Snaketown courts. Thus in review one finds the following traits common to all courts discussed: a playing floor, occasional markers, surrounding walls, and the embellishment of the ends in some fashion. The implication is evident that the game played in Southwestern courts involved the same fundamentals as those of the early Middle American courts. (One might further conjecture, if the court diffused northward into the Southwest, why not the game and the association of a ritual?) Those traits that differ from Middle American courts—which moreover are not stable in the Southwest—size and orientation, apparently are non-functional, and might well be considered as local variations.

In reviewing the prehistory of Arizona, certain other facts appear to be associated with the history and development of ball courts. The change in type of ball court and its diffusion into other areas occurs during the period of greatest ornateness (Sedentary, 900-1150 AD) in the Hohokam culture. We know that the Snaketown court developed into a pure Hohokam trait in the previous period (Colonial). Its apparent homogeneity and geographical restriction within the Hohokam area must have resulted from something basic. In fact, a general homogeneity is evident in all of the culture of the Colonial Period (up to about 900 AD). Religion and ceremony are strong elements in any culture and are slow to change. Such could well have been the controlling force in this case.

The fact that the court was not adopted by non-Hohokam groups prior to about 1050 AD may then have had its basis in a clash of religious and ceremonial concepts connected with the court. Obvious differences existed between the Hohokam and Mogollon. The former cremated and their neighbors interred their dead unburned. The Hohokam had the ball court and the Mogollon apparently no special structure connected with ceremony or ritual. Their artistic temperament differed, as is evidenced by curvilinear ceramic designs of the Hohokam in contrast to the linear forms of the Mogollon of this time. Even their methods of existence displayed varying stresses—Hohokam irrigation agriculture with little hunting and gathering, versus the Mogollon dry- and flood-farming with greater stress on hunting—probably the result of a difference in environment. Generally speaking, a rigid sedentary existence is more conducive to a complex religious

pattern than is that of a semi-sedentary life; an explanation that may apply in this case.

As the Hohokam culture developed into the Sedentary Period, it apparently reached a peak in geographic distribution and cultural ornateness. The "transitional" court, as well as the Casa Grande court, put in their appearance during this period (pre-1070 AD, possibly as early as 900 AD), and shortly thereafter courts diffused into neighboring areas. The acceptance of a changed court by outsiders implies one of two things. Either the neighboring groups had developed large centers which could support such a game and possibly a ritual, or the associated Hohokam ritual decayed into a mere vestigial remnant which was not sufficiently strong to clash with the concepts of those groups that did accept the court. The fact that the Casa Grande court replaced the earlier court in the Hohokam area proper would tend to support the latter possibility. Cultural ornateness may have lead to a breakdown in certain patterns, as has often occurred throughout history, and in this instance may have directly affected the ball courts.

The decrease in size and degeneration of end units in the Casa Grande court reduced the playing area measurements to figures close to the dimensions of the Middle American courts. This again may imply that sufficient room was retained for the game and that the ceremonial associations (if any existed) of the former court suffered.

The Southern Sinagua moved into the middle Verde valley proper about 1125 AD, placing themselves between two groups with ball courts, the Northern Sinagua and the Hohokam in the south. Only one court has been recorded associated with this group.[13] Preliminary testing of this court did not establish any accurate dates, though it is definitely post-1070 AD. No Hohokam associations are evident in the immediate vicinity.

About 1150 AD several new elements were introduced into the Salt River valley which appear to have come down the Verde River.[14] This probably was a southern extension of the above mentioned movement into the middle Verde valley. By 1300, the apparent Southern Sinagua traits, first introduced into the Salt River valley around 1150 AD, dominated the area in the blend that resulted.[15] As yet, no court in the south has been excavated demonstrating a Classic Period (1150-1400) existence, though surface sherds of this period are associated with some of the courts.

13 Albert H. Schroeder, field notes, 1947.
14 Schroeder, *Did the Sinagua of the Verde Valley Settle, etc.*, pp. 230-238.
15 *Idem*, p. 238.

Haury demonstrated the time differences between the Snaketown court (before 900) and the Casa Grande court (later than 900) at the Snaketown excavation.[16] To this the Museum of Northern Arizona has added additional dates through some of the Northern Sinagua Casa Grande courts.[17]

NA 804, in ruin by	1130-1150 AD
NA 2132, in use	1075-1100
NA 3669, used between	1070-1120
NA 3687, assumed use	1070-1120
Ball court at Wupatki—no dates given but Wupatki has a beginning date 1120-1130 and end date 1200-1225	

In the middle Verde valley there are three courts associated with the Hohokam-like sites with end dates around 1100, and the one Southern Sinagua court near the escarpment with possible outside dates between 1070 and 1150 plus. How many, if any, were in use in the Hohokam area after 1150 is yet to be demonstrated.

One last item from northern Mexico should be mentioned. J. Alden Mason reported in 1937 that in the Sierra Madres in the region of Sotolitos, about 120 kilometers northwest of Durango City, he encountered two late archaeological sites containing structures obviously resembling those of the Mexican ball court. "An open depressed oblong court or plaza bounded on each long side by a long mound of stones. The ends of the court are open and the level depressed area extends as an apron beyond the flanking stone mounds."[18] This description would fit the Casa Grande court of the Southwest. No time status is noted by Mason other than it was late.

The apparent gap between southern Arizona and northern Mexico presents an interesting field for work in this connection. A few elements in the Hohokam culture introduced after 900, appear to have southern affinities. Copper bells and inlay mirrors or plaques are two of the most evident. The Hohokam shell trade was always from the south, so that it is evident the avenue for contacts and ideas was present. Furture work might indicate that the Casa Grande type court may have been introduced as another southern element at this time, rather than having been a local Southwestern development. Such, of course, would nicely explain the sudden change and acceptance of a new court by all parties, and the apparent lack of a transitional court in the Hohokam area proper.

16 Haury, in Gladwin, *Excavations at Snaketown*, p. 42.
17 Colton, *The Sinagua*, pp. 77, 185, 237, 242, 63.
18 Mason, *Late Archaeological Sites in Durango*, p. 139; see also figure 4c.

From archaeological horizons we cross a gap into historic time where we find survivals of ball courts or associated traits. The latter appear to be derived from the game played in the late Middle American court used in historic times and observed by the early Spaniards.

Acaxee—A ball game encountered in northern Mexico made use of a rubber ball, a specially prepared court, the element of heavy betting, a complex ceremonial connection, possible religious features, and the rule of not touching the ball with the hands. A point was scored when the ball touched the ground. No goals were used.[19]

Sinaloa—Judd reports that J. H. Kempton and party, on September 28, 1923, saw a game played at Mocorito, Sinaloa, south of the Yaqui country in which a "long narrow field divided transversely was marked off in the plaza; there were four players on each side; the solid rubber ball, about 3 inches in diameter, was struck sometimes by the hip but usually by the bandanna-bound upper arm."[20]

Yaqui—Judd also refers to Lloyd, also mentioned by Haury, who noted that Capt W. H. Stayton, USN, observed Yaquis "playing a game with a ball about twice the diameter of a baseball. The game consisted in throwing the ball from hip to hip."[21]

Opata, Tarahumare—In 1765, these groups in north-central Mexico were playing a game similar to that played in Middle American courts.[22]

Pima—disbarment of a player if the ball is touched with the hands.[23]

These northern Mexico survivals are far removed from the late vertical walled court which lasted into historic times in southern Mexico. The dissimilar playing fields of the two areas as contrasted with the similar playing rules is notable. The archaeological courts noted by Mason are Southwestern in their physical plan and are in the general area where survivals occur. This may imply a continuance of ball courts along the southern fringe of the Southwest in prehistoric times, which in historic times degenerated into the above noted survivals. If this view is accepted, it further implies that the playing rules were roughly similar throughout, from southern Mexico into the Southwest—an amazing survival.

19 Beals, *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico*, p. 113; *The Acaxee*, pp. 11-13.

20 Judd, *Progress in the Southwest*, p. 432.

21 *Idem.*, p. 432; see also Lloyd, *Guayule*, p. 5.

22 Blom, *Mayan Ball-Game*, p. 503, referring to F. J. Clavijero, *Historia Antiqua de Mexico*, vol. 1, Mexico, 1917.

23 Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 172-173.

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TONKAWA SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES AND ANAPHORIC PARTICLES

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TONKAWA is an American Indian language which was spoken in the neighborhood of Austin, Texas during the aboriginal period. Today it survives only among a handful of speakers living near the small town of Tonkawa, Oklahoma.

My first grammatical treatment of Tonkawa ("Tonkawa, an Indian Language of Texas") was published in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part 3*.[1] A briefer but more recent sketch of the language appeared in *Linguistic Structures of Native America*.[2] The present paper[3] may be regarded as an addendum devoted especially to certain syntactic suffixes, the functions of which were not properly understood at the time the above mentioned publications were written. Terms defined in my previous publications will be used here without further definition.

1. Tonkawa has two major types of syntactic construction: the simple construction, in which we find only one verb or no verb at all, and the complex construction, which has more than one verb. In complex constructions, the principal verb is found at or near the end of the construction and the subsidiary verb or verbs precede it. Each subsidiary verb must take one syntactic suffix. All syntactic constructions having a principal verb may function independently but constructions having only a subsidiary verb are always completed by a principal verb or by a construction possessing a principal verb. Illustrations of these distinctions follow:

(1) hepakew "tell him!" is a simple construction consisting of the imperative form of hepake- "to tell, inform (someone)," the principal and only verb. Compare this with:

(2) xa·xat hepakew! "Go tell him!" in which hepakew "tell him!" is preceded by the subsidiary verb xa·xat "go in order to," composed of xa·xa- "one person goes to a distant point" and the syntactic suffix -t. xa·xat cannot, like hepakew, occur as an independent syntactic construction; by reason of the

1 New York, 1933-38, pp. 1-148.

2 Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 6, pp. 289-311, 1946.

3 An abstract of this paper was presented to the Ninth Summer Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America held at the University of Michigan, July 30-31, 1948.

suffix -t, which implies that further action is to follow, it must be completed by a principal verb or by a syntactic construction which contains a principal verb.

(3) ka·nosla (a Mexican [noun; actor]) yatmaxanlak (watermelon [noun; goal]) yawyeklakno?o (he planted them, it is said [principal verb]). A simple construction since it possesses but one verb.

(4) ?okxay?ockak (shell fish [noun; goal]) nokot (get them to [subsidiary verb]) ke·kew (give them to me [principal verb]). "Get shell fish and give them to me." A complex construction having two verbs.

2. Independent syntactic constructions in Tonkawa frequently begin with one of a series of particles consisting of the theme ?e·- plus a syntactic suffix. These particles are anaphoric substitutes, the antecedents of which are the immediately preceding independent syntactic constructions. As illustration, note the following:

(5) kanakxonaw! ?e·t ?eykel?axew! "Rope him! So doing, break his neck!" kanakxonaw "rope him!" is an independent construction parallel to example (1); kanakxona- "to rope, lasso" plus the imperative -w. ?eykel?axew "break his neck!" is also an imperative; theme ?eykel?axe- "to break (someone's) neck." But ?eykel?axew is preceded by the particle ?e·t, composed of the anaphoric theme ?e·- (here referring to kanakxonaw, the immediately preceding independent syntactic construction) and the suffix -t, previously illustrated in examples (2) and (4). By means of ?e·t, then, the verb expressions kanakxonaw and ?eykel?axew, though they here occur in successive independent syntactic constructions, are linked semantically in the same way as the subsidiary and principal verb expressions of examples (2) and (4).

3. A full list of Tonkawa syntactic suffixes follows:

A. The conjunctive suffixes -ta and -t. These are added directly to subsidiary verb themes and are also used to form the anaphoric particles ?e·-ta and ?e·-t, respectively.

B. The co-ordinative suffix -?ila is added to subsidiary verb themes in the form -l?ila, where -l is probably a third person indicator (see C, below). It may also follow the gerundive or infinitive suffix -n (-n?ila) in subsidiary verbs. There is, however, only one anaphoric particle, ?e·-l?ila.

C. The conditional suffixes -ka?ak, -?ok, and -(v·)k^{w}a (which requires lengthening of the preceding vowel) are added to subsidiary verb themes conjugated for person and number. These conjugations (verb theme ya·ce- 'to look at, see') follow:

	-ka²ak	-²ok	-(v·)kʷa
Sg. 1.	ya·ce-s-ka²ak	ya·ce-s-²ok	ya·ce·-kʷa-nes
2.	ya·ce-ne-ka²ak	ya·ce-yo-²ok	ya·ce·-ken
3.	ya·ce-l-ka²ak	ya·ce-l-²ok	ya·ce·-kʷa
Du. 1.	ya·ce-nes²e-s-ka²ak	ya·ce-nes²e-s-²ok	ya·ce-nes²e·-kʷa-nes
2.	ya·ce-nes²e-ne-ka²ak	ya·ce-nes²e-yo-²ok	ya·ce-nes²e·-ken
3.	ya·ce-nes²e-l-ka²ak	ya·ce-nes²e-l²ok	ya·ce-nes²e·-kʷa
Pl. 1.	ya·c-o·s²e-s-ka²ak	ya·c-o·s²e-s-²ok	ya·c-o·s²e·-kʷa-nes
2.	ya·c-o·s²e-ne-ka²ak	ya·c-o·s²e-yo-²ok	ya·c-o·s²e·-ken

In addition -²ok may be used, in subsidiary verbs, with a theme plus the gerundive or infinitive suffix -n; thus ya·ce-n-²ok "when eating takes place."

Anaphoric particles employing -ka²ak, -²ok, and -(v·)kʷa occur most often in their third person forms ²e·-l-ka²ak, ²e·-l-²ok, and ²e·-kʷa, respectively.

D. The suffixes -latoy, -la, and -lak, which must be added to the -k form of the verb or anaphoric particle. -k forms are conjugated as follows (verb theme ya·ce- "to see, look at"):

Sg. 1. ya·ce-se-k
2. ya·ce-ne-k
3. ya·ce-k

Du. 1. ya·ce-nes²e-se-k
2. ya·ce-nes²e-ne-k
3. ya·ce-nes²e-k

Pl. 1. ya·c-o·s²e-se-k
2. ya·c-o·s²e-ne-k

-k forms may also include the continuative suffix -no and the future tense suffix -a·to·, but they never contain any other tense, mode, or aspect marker.

E. The substantivizing suffix -la (probably identical with the nominative noun ending -la), when added to a subsidiary verb theme, makes it the actor of the principal verb. -la is also used to form the anaphoric particles ²e·-la (non-continuative) and ²e·no-la (continuative), which function as actors in the constructions they initiate. There is one example of the particle ²e·no-ka, a plural substantive expression similar in function to ²e·-la and ²e·-no-la.

F. The free form lak (probably identical with the accusative noun ending

-lak) functions as a substantivizing element in certain specialized constructions.

Sections 4-20 are devoted to illustrations of Tonkawa syntactic suffixes and anaphoric particles. All illustrations are taken from my unpublished Tonkawa texts and represent, therefore, utterances given by a native speaker in the course of dictating a myth or tale, not translations of English sentences offered by the investigator.

4. -ta, used in a complex construction, indicates that two or more actions of the same actor, not necessarily pertinent to one another, occur successively. It may roughly be translated by English "and."

(6) kaxaw (black) nesam$^{?}$ama-ta (burned it and [subsid. vb.]) soko-ta (put it away and [subsid. vb.]) coxnaklakno$^{?}$o (he went to bed, it is said [princ. vb.]). "He burned it black, put it away, and went to bed, it is said."

(7) kaltey$^{?}$a·y$^{?}$ik (to the outside) hatxilna-ta (went out and [subsid. vb.]) taxasaycotake·w$^{?}$an (toward the east) yelna-ta (sat facing off and [subsid. vb.]) hexsasaklakno$^{?}$o (he howled, it is said [princ. vb.]). "He went outside, sat facing east, and howled, it is said."

(8) yacox$^{?}$ana·naxoka·y$^{?}$ik (to a big camp) xa·xa-ta (arrived and [subsid. vb.]) "$^{?}$acxo·ne·w$^{?}$an (in the north) ka·lwa·nasek (I go to gamble)" noklakno$^{?}$o (he said, it is said [princ. vb.]). "He arrived at a big camp and said, 'I go to gamble in the north,' it is said."

5. $^{?}$e·ta connects two or more constructions which may be used independently in precisely the same way as -ta, in a complex construction, unites its subsidiary and principal verb expressions. It is translated "[actor] does so [in reference to actor's preceding action] and."

(9) tekeke$^{?}$e·k (in that brush) c$^{?}$a·paw (hide!) $^{?}$e·ta ([you] do so and) keyacew (watch me!). This may be translated by one English sentence, "Hide in that brush and watch me!" or by two, "Hide in that brush! And watch me!"

$^{?}$e·- particles, it is clear, do not necessarily mark the beginning of a new sentence; they mark only a border between syntactic constructions that can be used independently. It is probable that sentence borders in Tonkawa are marked by prosodic phonemes though data to demonstrate this point are, unfortunately, lacking. The difference between such a construction as tekeke$^{?}$e·k c$^{?}$a·pa-ta keyacew! "Hide in that brush and watch me!" and the construction cited in (9) lies solely in the fact that the subsidiary verb expression tekeke$^{?}$e·k c$^{?}$a·pa-ta cannot be used independently while the two constructions united by $^{?}$e·ta in (9) can both occur independently.

(10) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) kanakxonaklakno$^{?}$o (he roped him, it is said). $^{?}$e·ta ([he] did so and) tica·cxoka·y$^{?}$ik (to [his own] waist) henesk^{w}eteklakno$^{?}$o (he tied [the rope] to himself, is is said). $^{?}$e·ta ([he] did so and) "we·$^{?}$il (let's go!)" noklakno$^{?}$o (he said, it is said). "Coyote roped him, it is said. And he tied [the rope] to his own waist, it is said. And then he said, 'Let's go!,' it is said."

6. In complex constructions, -t, like -ta, indicates that two or more actions of the same actor occur successively. When -t is used, however, the successive actions are in some way related to one another. This may best be illustrated by the compound pa·pnat-yaxan "table," which is derived from the verb expression pa·pna-t yaxa- "to set [things] in a line and eat," and indicates that the action of setting things in a line not only precedes the action of eating but is preparatory to it.

(11) cakaw$^{?}$a·y$^{?}$ik (to the river) haklana-t (went down to [subsid. vb.]) tekalak (a [piece of] hard wood [goal]) yax^{w}kayce-t (chopped it off to [subsid. vb.]) kaxaw (black) nesam$^{?}$am$^{?}$a-ta (burned it and [subsid. vb.]) soko-ta (put it away and [subsid. vb.]) coxnaklakno$^{?}$o (he went to bed, it is said [princ. vb.]). Here -t and -ta verbs occur in the same sentence, the second half of which was given in example (6). "He went down to the river to chop off a piece of hard wood to burn it black, put it away, and go to bed, it is said."

(12) xa·xa-t (go [to him] to [subsid. vb.]) hepakew (tell him! [princ. vb.]) $^{?}$e·tan (to come here [infinitive -n vb.]). "Go tell him to come here!"

(13) na·k^{w} (now) ha·na-t (go away to [subsid. vb.]) yaw$^{?}$ecaw (search for it! [princ. vb.])! "Now, go search for it!"

7. $^{?}$e·t "[actor] does so in order to," in the same way, connects syntactic constructions which may be used independently.

(14) kanakxonaw (rope him!) $^{?}$e·t (do so in order to) $^{?}$eykel$^{?}$axew (break his neck!) $^{?}$e·t (do so in order to) keta·xaw (eat him with me!). This may well be translated by a single English sentence: "Rope him to break his neck so that we may eat him together!"

(15) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) "$^{?}$acxo·ne·w$^{?}$an (in the north) ka·lwena·ha$^{?}$a (I shall gamble)" noklakno$^{?}$o (he said, it is said). $^{?}$e·t ([he] did so to) ha·naklakno$^{?}$o (he went away, it is said) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]). "Coyote said, 'I shall gamble in the north,' it is said. Coyote did so in order to go away, it is said."

(16) yakl$^{?}$axeklakno$^{?}$o (he broke it, it is said) yakl$^{?}$axan$^{?}$a·lak ([its] neck

[goal]). ʔe·t ([he] did so to) ya·lo·naklakno·ʔo (he killed it, it is said). "He broke its neck, it is said. He did so in order to kill it, it is said."

8. The suffix -ʔila indicates that two or more actions, not necessarily of the same actor, take place simultaneously.

(17) tickanwa·ce·ka (these Tonkawa [actor]) na·xsokna-lʔila (they go raiding [subsid. vb.]) neswalʔanwa·yʔik (to that fish) xayat (go to [him] in order to) hetalʔo·nonlakno·ʔo (they customarily pray to him, it is said [princ. vb.]). The customary action of going to the fish in order to pray is coincident with the action of raiding. "These Tonkawa always go to that fish to pray when they are out raiding, it is said."

(18) tickaneykak (these people [goal]) ya·ce-lʔila (she caught sight of them [subsid. vb.]) xacʔetxananoklakno·ʔo (she always jumped far off, it is said [princ. vb.]). This sentence occurs in a story of a Tonkawa woman who, because she had married an animal, avoided all contact with human beings. "She, catching sight of these people, always jumped far off [a rock near her husband's den], it is said."

(19) hemaya-lʔila (he is a ghost [subsid. vb.]) no·nokʷa (he is talking! [princ. vb.]). Four young men, hearing what they take to be the ghost of their foster-son, exclaim: "It is his ghost talking!" Note that the Tonkawa hemaya-lʔila is not a substantive expression; it is a subsidiary verb expression the action of which is simultaneous with that of the principal verb expression no·nokʷa.

(20) xʔaxʔayʔanoklakno·ʔo (he was laughing, it is said [princ. vb.]) weyace-lʔila (he looked at them [subsid. vb.]) haʔ·ʔako·nosaswaʔ·ʔa·lak (those young men [goal]). "He was laughing [as] he looked at these young men, it is said" or "Laughing, he looked at those young men, it is said."

(21) hawnana-n-ʔila ([they] moving about [subsid. vb.]) kalaka·la (the one [actor]) ya·cxʷʔe·lapenoklakno·ʔo (he was watching [the other] closely, it is said [princ. vb.]). "[As the group was] moving about, the one [young man] kept a close watch on [the other], it is said." This is my only example of -ʔila with an -n form of the verb.

9. ʔe·lʔila links independent syntactic constructions which denote actions taking place simultaneously.

(22) kʷa·nwaʔ·ʔa·la (that woman [actor]) hekto·noklakno·ʔo (she was always singing, it is said). ʔe·lʔila (she so doing) tickaneykak (these people [goal]) ya·celʔila (she caught sight of them [subsid. vb.]) xacʔetxananoklakno·ʔo

(she always jumped far off, it is said). ʔe·lʔila (she so doing) yancicxilenoklakno·ʔo (she always ran away, it is said). ʔe·lʔila (she so doing) hacepa·yʔik (to [her] den) hakxonanoklakno·ʔo (she always ran in, it is said). This example includes the one cited in no. 18, q.v. "That woman was always singing, it is said. When, so doing, she caught sight of these people, she would jump far off, it is said. So doing, she always ran away, it is said. So doing, she always ran into [her] den, it is said." The use of the particle ʔe·lʔila implies that the actions singing, catching sight of humans, jumping away, running away, and running into the den followed each other so rapidly as to compose almost a single unanalyzable action and reaction.

(23) hostaxso·n ([in the] morning) xilipa·nanoklakno·ʔo (he always went out hunting, it is said) ha·ʔako·nwa·ʔa·la (that man [actor]). ʔe·lʔila (he so doing) ʔaweykak (many deer [goal]) kʷa·lowkak (big ones [goal]) ya·lo·nanoklakno·ʔo (he always killed them, it is said). "That man went out hunting every morning, it is said. So doing he always killed many big deer, it is said." The English translation does not emphasize the simultaneity of the two actions, made explicit in Tonkawa by the particle ʔe·lʔila.

10. The conditional suffixes -kaʔak, -ʔok, and -(v·)kʷa are distinguished in function as follows. -kaʔak (progressive conditional) defines a continuous condition: "while [so and so] takes place." -ʔok (present or incompletive conditional) signifies a present (but not continuous) condition or a future condition: "when [so and so] takes place" or "should [so and so] take place." -(v·)kʷa (past or completive conditional) marks a condition which has been fulfilled: "when [so and so] had taken place."

ʔe·lkaʔak, ʔe·lʔok, and ʔe·kʷa link independent syntactic constructions in exactly the same way as the suffixes alone link verb expressions belonging to a complex construction.

11. Examples of -kaʔak and the particle ʔe·lkaʔak.

(24) xʔele-lkaʔak (while he filed [subsid. vb.]) ha·ʔako·nosaswa·lʔan (that aforementioned young man's) calʔa·la ([his] testicles [this plus preceding possessor defines the actor]) hentitxo·ʔonoklakno·ʔo (they were shaking, it is said [princ. vb.]). "As he filed, that young man's testicles were shaking, it is said."

(25) ʔe·cas (some of them [actor]) na·to·nwa·ʔa·lak (that mountain aforementioned [goal]) ha·cinʔa·yʔik (to its vicinity) yaʔa-lkaʔak (as they moved along [subsid. vb.]) kʷa·nwa·ʔa·la (that woman aforementioned [actor])

hekto·noklakno?o (she was always singing, it is said [princ. vb.]). "As some of them moved along in the vicinity of that mountain, that woman was always singing, it is said."

(26) tinay?a·lak (the past [goal]) tickanwa·ce·ka (those Tonkawa [actor]) he·pano·no? (they were always telling about it). ?e·lka?ak (while they did so) sosko·nano?o·? (I was always listening). "Those Tonkawa were always telling about the past. While they did so, I was always listening."

(27) cakawixʷan?a·y?ik (to a small river) haklanat (descending to) xaneta (drink and) haycotananoklakno?o (he kept coming up, it is said). ?e·lka?ak (while he did so) ha·?ako·nosa?aswa·ka (those young men aforementioned [actor]) "hecu· (what) ?e·nokʷa (it is happening)" no·nonlakno?o (they kept saying, it is said). ?e·lka?ak (while they did so) "hecu·?ax (something) ke?eyapeno? (it is not troubling me)" no·noklakno?o (he kept saying, it is said). "He was continually descending to a small river to drink and [then] coming up [again], it is said. As he did so, the young men [with him] kept saying, 'What is the trouble?' As they did so, he kept answering, 'Nothing is troubling me,' it is said."

(28) yakʷanoklakno?o (he was spurring him, it is said). ?e·lka?ak (as he did so) tanmaslakʷa·lowla (Jack Rabbit [actor]) c?etxananoklakno?o (he was jumping forward, it is said). ?e·lka?ak (as he did so) "wo· (whoa)" no·noklakno?o (he was saying, it is said). "He [i.e. Coyote riding Jack Rabbit] was spurring him, it is said. As he did so, Jack Rabbit kept jumping ahead, it is said. As he did so, [Coyote] kept saying, 'Whoa!' it is said."

12. Examples of -?ok and the particle ?e·l?ok

(29) ?o·?o·-l?ok (when night falls [subsid. vb.]) cakawkʷa·lowe?e·k (to that big river yonder) ta·taklane·-s?ok (when I take you [subsid. vb.]) naxcew (make a fire [princ. vb.]) kʷa·low (big). "When night falls [and] when I take you to that big river yonder, make a big fire."

(30) yancicxile-s?ok (when I run [subsid. vb.]) keyacew (watch me [princ. vb.]). "When I run, you watch me."

(31) we·y?ik (in that place) kes?eta-l?ok (when I am cut [subsid. vb.]) kewawa·tokco? (I shall die [princ. vb.]) "When I am cut in that place, I shall die."

(32) taxso·-l?ok (when morning comes [subsid. vb.]) ta·he·sokyawa·ha?a (I shall fight with him [princ. vb.]). "When morning comes, I shall fight with him."

(33) ?a·xe?e·k (into that water) yacelaklanew (throw them). ?e·-yo?ok

(when you do so) losos$^{?}$ita (all of them [actor]) taycota·tonwa$^{?}$ (they will come up again). "Throw them into the water. When you do so, they will all come up again." Here the particle has the second person form; fairly frequent with the suffix -$^{?}$ok.

(34) neswal$^{?}$an-$^{?}$ok (when fishing [subsid. vb.]) "k^{w}a·lo·taka (biggest one) na·cew (bite)" na·pa·to·nekco$^{?}$ (you [must] not say [princ. vb.]). "When fishing you must not say, 'Biggest one, bite!'" Here and in 35-36 below, -$^{?}$ok is used with verb plus -n, infinitive or gerundive ending.

(35) wa$^{?}$anpax (as soon as) yaxan-$^{?}$ok (when the eating is done [subsid. vb.]) wa$^{?}$anwe·y$^{?}$ik (right over there) hecnew (lie down [princ. vb.]). "As soon as the eating is done, lie down right over there."

(36) yacox$^{?}$ane$^{?}$e·k (to that camp) xayan-$^{?}$ok (when the return is made [subsid. vb.]) we·pako·s$^{?}$a·ha$^{?}$a (we shall tell them [princ. vb.]). "When the return is made to that camp, we shall tell them."

(37) k^{w}a·nenoxlak (a pretty woman [goal]) kenesta·$^{?}$eya·to·no$^{?}$ (they are going to give her to me in marriage). $^{?}$e·l$^{?}$ok (when they do so) sa·ya (I [actor]) ka·tolano$^{?}$ (I'm refusing her). "They are going to give me a pretty woman in marriage. When they do so, I shall refuse her."

(38) heyak^{w}laxeklakno$^{?}$o (it opened itself, it is said). $^{?}$e·l$^{?}$ok (when it did so) $^{?}$awasmaslakla (a white buffalo [actor]) heylapa·la (he standing there) "hecu·kak (what things [goal]) $^{?}$eya$^{?}$a$^{?}$ (you want?)" noklakno$^{?}$o (he said, it is said). "[The gate] opened by itself, it is said. When it did so, a white buffalo who was standing there said, "What do you want?"

(39) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) xa·xaklakno$^{?}$o (he arrived, it is said) naxcanwa·y$^{?}$ik (at that fire aforementioned). $^{?}$e·l$^{?}$ok (when he did so) ha·$^{?}$ako·nla (a man [actor]) yele·laklakno$^{?}$o (he was sitting there, it is said) naxcana·cin$^{?}$a·y$^{?}$ik (close to the fire). "Coyote arrived at that fire, it is said. When he did so, a man was sitting there close to the fire, it is said."

13. Examples of -(v·)k^{w}a and the particle $^{?}$e·k^{w}a. Note especially nos. 40, 41, 44, 45, and 46 which provide contrasts between -ka$^{?}$ak, -$^{?}$ok, and -(v·)k^{w}a.

(40) he$^{?}$eca (at that place yonder) xa·kak (fat meat [goal]) nasoxan (roasting) ke·ke·-k^{w}a (when they have given it to me [subsid. vb.]) yaxane-s$^{?}$ok (when I eat it [subsid. vb.]) na·x^{w}a (you also) he·naw-$^{?}$acet (ask for it to) keta·xaw (eat it with me). "When they have given me [some of] the fat meat roasting at that place yonder [and] when I eat it [*not*: when I have eaten it], you also ask for [some] in order to eat it with me."

(41) "taxso·-l?ok (when tomorrow comes [subsid. vb.]) yan?anwanpax (all of iron) na·hewo·s?ow (build a house [princ. vb.])." . . . taxso·-k^{w}a (when the next day had come [subsid. vb.]) yan?anwanpax (all of iron) na·ho·ta (built a house and). . . . " 'When tomorrow comes, build a house all of iron,' . . . When the next day had come, [they] built a house all of iron and . . . ."

(42) ketatanaw (take me away [princ. vb.]) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) coxno·-k^{w}a (when he has fallen asleep [subsid. vb.]). "Take me away when Coyote has fallen asleep."

(43) metis (three) hecne·-k^{w}a (when nights had passed [subsid. vb.]) ha·?ako·nla (a man [actor]) xa·xaklakno?o (he arrived, it is said [princ. vb.]). "When three nights had passed, a man arrived, it is said."

(44) wa·teca (right here) ?e·non (let's stay). ?o·s?e·-k^{w}anes (when we have done so) ?awasel?a·tla (that buffalo [actor]) haycota-l?ok (when he comes up [*not*: when he has come up] ya·lo·nanon (let's kill him). "Let's stay right here. When we have done so [and] when that buffalo comes up, let's kill him." Here the particle (?o·s?e·k^{w}anes < ?e·- + -o·s?e·k^{w}anes [see §3 C]) has the first person plural ending.

(45) xa·?a·lak (the fat meat [goal]) x^{w}e·y?ik (at last) nawla·to·-k^{w}a (when she had made ready to cook it [subsid. vb. 1]) ha·?ako·nosaswa·?a·la (that young man aforementioned [actor]) "wa?anes (as soon as) xa·hel?a·tla (that fat meat [actor]) ham?amat (is so hot that) xa·?a·la (the grease [actor]) ha·?as (freely) so·la·-k^{w}a (when it has begun to run [subsid. vb. 2]) losos (all of it) ta?aneta (take it and) heykacake?e·k (to where they are sitting) xakataw (swing it in a circle [princ. vb. 2]). ?e·-yo?ok (when you do so [2nd p. sg. -?ok particle]) he·topowla (The Osage [actor]) xe·paca·tonwa? (they will fall over backward). ?e·-k^{w}a (when they have done so) matnokon (quickly) totopaw (cut it) keywewekte·lak (this [rope] by means of which I am tied [goal])" noklakno?o (he said, it is said [princ. vb. 1]). "When at last she was ready to cook the fat meat, that young man said, it is said: 'As soon as that fat meat is so hot that the grease has begun to flow freely, take all of it to where [the Osage] are sitting and swing it in a circle. When you do this, the Osage will fall over backward. When they have done so, quickly cut [the rope] with which I am bound.' "

(46) ka·xwa·?a·la (that blind one aforementioned [actor]) yancic-xilnaklakno?o (he ran off, it is said). ?e·t ([he] so doing) c?aw?al (far) henk^{w}a·naklakno?o (he ran off, it is said). ?e·-k^{w}a (when he had done so) ha·?ako·nosaswa·?a·la (that young man aforementioned [actor]) nesex^{w}eta (shouted and) "heylapaw (stop)" no·noklakno?o (he was saying, it is said).

"cakaw²a·y²ik (to the river) ha·cin (closely) yaxasto·ka (you are near)" no·noklakno²o (he was saying, it is said). ²e·l²ok (when he did so) ka·xwa·²a·la (that blind one aforementioned [actor]) heylapapenoklakno²o (he was not stopping, it is said) wa²aneskaltey (but only) cikʷo·tak (faster) yancicxilnaklakno²o (he ran off, it is said). ²e·lka²ak (while he was doing so) ha·²ako·nosaswa·²a·la (that young man aforementioned [actor]) nesexʷenoklakno²o (he kept on shouting, it is said). "heylapaw (stop)" no·noklakno²o (he kept on saying, it is said). ²e·-kʷa (when he had done so) cakaw²a·y²ik (to the river) wa·naklakno²o (he [the blind one] fell in, it is said). "That blind one ran off, it is said. So doing he ran far, it is said. When he had [gone far], that young man shouted to him and he was saying, 'Stop! You are too close to the river!' When he [said this], that blind one did not stop, it is said; he only ran off faster, it is said. While [the blind one was running], the young man continued to shout, it is said. 'Stop!' he kept on saying, it is said. When he had [said this], he [the blind one] fell into the river, it is said."

14. The -k form of the Tonkawa verb, among other functions, serves as a base for the syntactic suffixes -latoy, -la, and -lak. -latoy is represented in my texts by only two examples: c²aw²al (far) tananes²e-k-latoy (though they two had gone [subsid. vb.]) yancicxilxa·xaklakno²o (he caught up [to them by] running, it is said [princ. vb.]) "Though they two had gone far away, he caught up by running, it is said." "teyey²a·lak (the liver [goal]) yaxapew (do not eat it)" noklakno²o (he said, it is said) ²okma²ekwa·²a·la (that Tiger aforementioned [actor]). ²e·k-latoy (in spite of his having [said] so) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) wixʷan (little) yaxaklakno²o (he ate it, is said) teyeywa·²a·lak (that liver aforementioned [goal]). "'Do not eat the liver,' Tiger said, it is said. In spite of this [admonition], Coyote ate a little [bit of] that liver, it is said." Here, it will be noted, -latoy is used with the -k form of the anaphoric particle, thus linking two independent syntactic constructions in the same way as the immediate constituents of the preceding example are joined by -latoy into a complex construction.

15. -k forms followed by -la, used in complex constructions, indicate that the actor of the subsidiary verb expression has completed his action and that a new action, performed by another actor, is to follow immediately. Examples:

(47) "kanakxonaw (rope him). ²e·t (do so to) ²eykel²axew (break his neck). ²e·t (do so to) keta·xaw (eat him with me)" no·-kla (he said [subsid. vb.]) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) "hehey² (yes)" noklakno²o (he said, it

is said [princ. vb.]). "'Rope him to break his neck so that we may eat him together,' [Rabbit] said [and] Coyote answered, 'Yes,' it is said."

(48) ʔe·kʷa (when he had done so) ka·nosk ʷa·nla (a Mexican woman [actor]) ha·na-kla (she went away [subsid. vb.]) nesyancicxilxa·xaklakno ʔo (he made [his mount] run up [to her], it is said [princ. vb.]). "When he had done so, a Mexican woman went away; he [then] made [his mount] run up [to her], it is said."

(49) kʷa·nwa·ʔa·la (that woman aforementioned [actor]) ha·nat (went off to) cʔawʔalʔa·yʔik (at a distance) xeylapa-kla (she stood far off [subsid. vb.]) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) yakeklakno ʔo (he shot at her, it is said [princ. vb.]). "That woman went off to come to a stand at a distance [and] Coyote shot [arrows] at her, it is said."

(50) kʷa·kʷanka (the women [actor]) noho·na·ʔe·-kla (they went to get wood [subsid. vb.]) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) hetayʔo·klakno ʔo (he joined them, it is said). "The women went to get wood [and] Coyote joined them, it is said."

(51) ʔo·ʔo·-kla (it became night [subsid. vb.]) hecnenesʔeklakno ʔo (they went to bed, it is said). "It became night [and] they went to bed, it is said."

16. The anaphoric particles ʔe·kla and ʔe·nokla (-no, continuative suffix) indicate that the actor of the preceding independent syntactic construction has completed his action and that a new action, usually but not necessarily by a different actor, is to follow immediately.

(52) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) cakawʔa·yʔik (to the river) silweno-klakno ʔo (he was wandering about, it is said). ʔe·kʷa (when he had done so) cakawa·yʔik (at that river aforementioned) he·xʔaxʔayʔo·noklakno ʔo (some [people] were laughing, it is said). ʔe·kla (they did so) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) heylapana·cinʔa·yʔik (near a tree) heylapata (stood and) helʔeyak-lanaklakno ʔo (he looked down, it is said). "Coyote was wandering about at the river, it is said. When he had done so, someone, near the river, was laughing, it is said. [As] they did so, Coyote stood near a tree and looked down, it is said."

(53) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) ha·xeyneklakno ʔo (he went away, it is said). ʔe·kʷa (when he had done so) kʷa·nla (a woman [actor]) xa·xaklakno ʔo (she arrived, it is said) yacoxʔanwa·yʔik (to that tipi aforementioned). ʔe·t ([she] did so to) naho·klakno ʔo (she asked for it, it is said) hexʷitwa·ʔa·lak (that belt aforementioned [goal]). ʔe·kla (she did so) kʷa·nko·sʔawa·ʔa·la (that old woman aforementioned [actor]) "ya·cepeno ʔo·ʔ (I have never seen it)" noklakno ʔo (she said, it is said). ʔe·kla (she did so) kʷa·nwa·ʔa·la (that

woman aforementioned [actor]) "to·nano·ka (you are lying). wa·teca (in this place) ke·stoxno·no? (I can smell it). to·na (just) kenesya·cew (let me see it). we·l?atlak (that one [goal]) te·c (in this manner) ?e·no?o·? (I have always worn it)" noklakno?o (she said, it is said). ?e·kla (she did so) k"a·nko·s?awa·?a·la (that old woman aforementioned [actor]) ?ekeklakno?o (she gave it to her, it is said) hex"itwa·?a·lak (that belt aforementioned [goal]). ?e·kla (she did so) k"a·nwa·?a·la (that woman aforementioned [actor]) ta?an (taking it) hex"tet (put it on) kapyukus?eklakno?o (she vanished, it is said). "Coyote went away, it is said. When he had done so, a woman came to [his] tipi, it is said. She [came] to ask for the belt [Coyote had stolen], it is said. [When] she did so, the old woman [Coyote's grandmother] said, 'I have never seen it.' She [having spoken] so, that woman said: 'You are lying. I can smell it here. Just let me see it. I have always worn it so.' (She [having spoken] so, the old woman gave her the belt, it is said. She having done so, the woman taking it, put it on and vanished, it is said."

(54) tanmaslakaw?isla (a little rabbit [actor]) ho·?oxo·noklakno?o (he was always stealing them, it is said) yatmaxanwa·?a·lak (those watermelon aforementioned [goal]). ?e·nokla (he doing so) ka·nosokano?a·la (the Mexican who owned them [actor]) xaclo·klakno?o (he became angry, it is said). "A little rabbit was always stealing those watermelons, it is said. He doing so, the Mexican who owned them became angry, it is said."

(55) ?o·?a?a·lak (night[s] [goal]) metis (three) coxnapenoklakno?o (he continually did not sleep, it is said). ?e·nokla (he doing so) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) "hecu· (what) ?e·l?ila (while it is so) coxnapenoka (you do not sleep)" noklakno?o (he said to him, it is said). "He did not sleep for three nights running, it is said. He doing so, Coyote said to him, 'Why is it that you never sleep?' "

(56) pas (a long time) ?e·noklakno?o (he was [away], it is said). ?e·nokla (he doing so) k"a·nwa·?a·la (that woman aforementioned [actor]) c?el?e·klakno?o (she went after him, it is said). "He was [away] a long time, it is said. He doing so, that woman went after him, it is said."

17. The ending -lak is found with the -k form only in the anaphoric particles ?e·klak and ?e·noklak (-no, continuative suffix). These differ in meaning from ?e·kla and ?e·nokla, respectively, in that ?e·klak and ?e·noklak indicate that the actor of the preceding independent construction has been acted upon as goal and that a new action is to follow immediately. This contrast in structure and function suggests that the endings -la and -lak are probably related

to the noun endings -la, nominative, and -lak, accusative. Examples of ʔe·klak and ʔe·noklak follow.

(57) "ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) ta·ka·lwa·to·k (he will fight with him) na·ʔa (he says)" noklakno·ʔo (she said, it is said). ʔe·klak (this done to him) hostaxso·n (early morning) cakawixʷan·ʔa·y·ʔik (to a small river) heykewaklananoklakno·ʔo (they went down, it is said). "'Coyote says [that] he will fight with him,' she said, it is said. This [said about] him, the next morning [everyone] went down to a small river, it is said."

(58) "we·lte·la (that one) ʔa·xeykak (that water [goal]) xanʔapaʔa (he must not drink) silwe·n·ʔok (as [he] wanders about) henox (well) ʔa·to·n·ʔey (you become)" noklakno·ʔo (he said, it is said). ʔe·klak (this [curse] laid on him) pasʔe·ta (after a while) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) ʔa·x·ʔeynacka·to·noklakno·ʔo (he was dying of thirst, it is said). "'That person [i. e. Coyote] must wander about without drinking any water until you become well,' he said, it is said. This [curse] laid on him, Coyote was soon dying of thirst, it is said."

(59) we·pakeklakno·ʔo (they told them about him, it is said) wenekewaka·lak (his relatives [goal]). ʔe·klak (this done to him) nencopanyaxoysilayo·nka (bear hunters [actor]) ha·cinʔa·y·ʔik (to the vicinity) tickanwa·ʔa·la (that person aforementioned [actor]) ʔe·ka·y·ʔik (where he lived) ya·ʔa·kʷa (when they had come) ʔekʷanʔa·la (their dogs [actor]) tekeka·y·ʔik (into the brush) koxnata (ran and) henkokxanoklakno·ʔo (they were barking, it is said). "They told about [that person] to his relatives, it is said. When, this done to him, some bear hunters came to the vicinity of that person's dwelling, their dogs ran into the brush barking, it is said."

(60) ʔa·yayʔa·y·ʔik (inside) caneklakno·ʔo (he left him, it is said). ʔe·noklak (he being treated so) hetwanʔax (several) hecne·kʷa (when nights had passed) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) xa·xaklakno·ʔo (he arrived, it is said). "[The Mexican] left [Rabbit imprisoned] inside, it is said. When, he [i e. Rabbit] being so treated, several nights had passed, Coyote came along, it is said."

(61) tanmaslakla (Rabbit [actor]) yatexanwa·kas (by means of those stones aforementioned) yalnackaklakno·ʔo (he killed him by throwing at him, it is said) ha·csokonaylak (Coyote [goal]) . . . . ʔe·noklak (he being so treated) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) ʔaco·t (came to life to) ta·konaklakno·ʔo (he went off to search for him, it is said) tanmaslaklak (Rabbit [goal]). "Rabbit stoned Coyote to death, it is said. . . . He [i. e. Coyote] being so treated, Coyote came to life and went off to search for Rabbit, it is said."

(62) ʔaweykak (those deer [goal]) ya·lo·nalʔila (whenever he killed them)

ta·yaxanoklakno$^{?}$o (he customarily ate them with him, it is said). $^{?}$e·noklak (he being treated so) $^{?}$okma$^{?}$ekwa·$^{?}$a·la (that Tiger aforementioned [actor]) xilpa·nat (going off to hunt) xe·cnoklakno$^{?}$o (he did not return, it is said). "Whenever [Tiger] killed deer he always shared them with [Coyote], it is said. [Coyote] being treated so, that Tiger went off [one day] to hunt and did not return, it is said."

(63) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) silwenoklakno$^{?}$o (he was wandering about, it is said). yaxapa$^{?}$a (he was very hungry). $^{?}$e·noklak (he being treated so) na·to·n$^{?}$a·y$^{?}$ik (to a mountain) haycona·k^{w}a (when he had climbed) $^{?}$okma-$^{?}$ek^{w}a·lowla (a big Tiger [actor]) ta·ha·ho·klakno$^{?}$o (he met him, it is said) ha·csokonaywa·$^{?}$a·lak (that Coyote aforementioned [goal]). "Coyote was wandering about, it is said. He was very hungry. When, being so treated, he had climbed a mountain, a big Tiger met him, it is said."

(64) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) hexsasata (yelped and) kilix-pax^{w}a·y$^{?}$ik (from that high [river] bank aforementioned) wa·nat (was thrown off to) heylapanwa·y$^{?}$ik (to that tree aforementioned) yacyatxalkat (was fastened to) he·yatxalkanoklakno$^{?}$o (he was hanging, it is said). . . . $^{?}$e·noklak (he being treated so) heylapanekamanwewxayo·nla (beaver children [actor]) ketayta (two of them) hekta·wanesnoklakno$^{?}$o (they were playing about, it is said). "Coyote yelped and was thrown off that high [river] bank to become fastened to a tree and remain hanging [there], it is said. . . . He having been treated so, two beaver children were playing about, it is said."

(65) ta·he·malo·nonlakno$^{?}$o (they were playing with him, it is said). $^{?}$e·noklak (they doing so to him) we·$^{?}$is (one) k^{w}a·nwa·$^{?}$a·la (that woman aforementioned [actor]) yam$^{?}$acxan$^{?}$a·y$^{?}$ik (on the nose) $^{?}$eynetxo$^{?}$oklakno$^{?}$o (she touched him, it is said). "They were playing with him, it is said. They doing so to him, one of those women touched him on the nose, it is said."

(66) ha·$^{?}$ako·nosasla (a young man [actor]) $^{?}$ekaka·lak (his grandmother [goal]) ta·yacox$^{?}$anoklakno$^{?}$o (he was living with her, it is said). $^{?}$e·noklak (this being so with him) hepayx^{w}etanla (a young woman [actor]) xa·xaklakno$^{?}$o (she arrived, it is said). "A young man was living with his grandmother, it is said. This being so with him, a young woman arrived, it is said."

18. The suffix -la, when added to the theme of the subsidiary verb, makes the verb expression a substantive expression and the actor of the principal verb. -la in this function is undoubtedly identical with the nominative noun ending -la. Examples follow.

(67) hecneno-la (he [who] was lying there) $^{?}$aco·t (coming to life) . . .

noklakno?o (he said, it is said) . . . . "He [who] was lying there came to life and said, it is said . . . ."

(68) ha·na-la (he [who] went off) ?oyukwa·?a·lak (that sack aforementioned [goal]) xatyaw?a·lak (sweet potatoes [goal]) nespeceta (he filled it with them and) hawawnataxkaklakno?o (he carried them back home, it is said). "He [who] went off filled that sack with sweet potatoes and carried them back home, it is said."

(69) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) silweno-la (he [who] was wandering about) sosko·noklakno?o (he was hearing it, it is said) hekto·kwa·?a·lak (that song aforementioned [goal]). "Coyote [who] was wandering about heard that song, it is said."

19. ?e·-la, ?e·-no-la (-no, continuative suffix), and ?e·-no-ka (-ka pl. nom. noun ending) represent anaphoric particles which function as substantive expressions. By means of these, the actor of an independent syntactic construction is described by reference to the action defined in the syntactic construction immediately preceding. Examples:

(70) ha·naklakno?o (he went away, it is said). ?e·la (he [who] did so) hececo·n (back) xa·xat (arrived to) . . . noklakno?o (he said, it is said). "He went away, it is said. He [who] did so come back to say . . . .

(71) "c?a·paw (hide) ?e·ta (do so and) keyacew (watch me)." ?e·la (he [who said] so) "we·tica?a (certainly in this way) yaxa·to·nekco? (you will get food)" noklakno?o (he said, it is said). " 'Hide and watch me.' He [who said] this [went on to] say, 'Certainly in this way you will get food.' "

(72) . . . noklakno?o (he said, it is said). ?e·la (he [who said] so) "nesexʷe·s?ok (when I shout) ma·tan (quickly) wecxew (turn them loose)" noklakno?o (he said, it is said). ". . . he said, it is said. He [who said] this [went on to] say, 'When I shout, quickly turn them loose.' "

(73) ?awkak (deer [goal]) ta·konaha·naklakno?o (he went off to hunt them, it is said). ?e·la (he [who] did so) kesxaya·kʷa (when evening had come) ha·heytaklakno?o (he returned to that place, it is said). "He went off to hunt for deer, it is said. He [who] did so, when evening had come, returned to that place, it is said."

(74) hecneklakno?o (they went to bed, it is said) yaxapeta (not eating and). ?e·la (they [who] did so) taxso·kla (the next day came) na·?e·klakno?o (they went on, it is said). "They went to bed hungry, it is said. On the next day, they [who] did so moved on, it is said."

(75) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) silwenoklakno?o (he was wandering

about, it is said). ʔe·nola (he [who] was doing so) na·to·nwa·yʔik (to that mountain aforementioned) hayconaklaknoʔo (he climbed, it is said). "Coyote was wandering about, it is said. He [who] was doing so climbed that mountain it is said."

(76) ketayta (two of them) hekta·wanesnoklaknoʔo (they were playing about, it is said). ʔe·nola (they [who] were doing so) ha·csokonaywa·ʔa·lak (that Coyote aforementioned [goal]) ya·ceklaknoʔo (they saw him, it is said). "Two of them were playing about, it is said. They [who] were doing so saw that Coyote, it is said."

(77) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) cikʷo·tak (violently) weklaxenoklaknoʔo (he threw them down, it is said). ʔe·nola (he [who] was doing so) kʷe·lak (a club [goal]) taʔanet (took to) yaxʷencakaklaknoʔo (he beat them to death, it is said). "Coyote threw them down violently, it is said. He [who] was doing so took a club and beat them to death, it is said."

(78) hewlet (caught him to) ta·he·sokyo·nonlaknoʔo (they fought with him, it is said). ʔe·noka (they [who] did so) ya·lo·nanlaknoʔo (they killed him, it is said) hecocxo·kwa·ʔa·lak (that fearsome one aforementioned [goal]). "They caught him and fought with him, it is said. They [who] did so killed that fearsome one, it is said."

20. Finally, we find a free form lak, probably to be equated with the accusative noun ending -lak, which functions as a substantivizing element in the following two types of syntactic construction.

(A) Verb theme + syntactic suffix | independent syntactic construction | lak | principal verb expression. In constructions of this type, lak substantivizes the included independent syntactic construction and makes it the goal, direct or indirect, of the verb theme plus syntactic suffix. Examples:

(79) ha·na·kʷa (when he had gone off) | tanmaslakla (Rabbit [actor]) hecne·laklaknoʔo (he was lying, it is said) | lak | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) . . . noklaknoʔo (he said, it is said). "When he had gone off to Rabbit [who] was lying down, it is said, Coyote said . . . ."

(80) tananesʔe·kʷa (when they two had gone off) | maslaka·ʔako·nwa·ʔa·la (that Bull aforementioned [actor]) heylapanʔa·yayʔa·yʔik (under a tree) hecne·laklaknoʔo (he was lying, it is said) | lak | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) kanakxonaklaknoʔo (he roped him, it is said). "When they two had gone off to that Bull [who] was lying under a tree, it is said, Coyote roped him, it is said."

(81) cʔaxʷʔa·lak (the blanket [goal]) taʔanxayconalʔok (when she lifted it up) | kʷanwa·ʔa·la (that woman aforementioned [actor]) kawcewpax (all

magotty) ye·laklakno?o (she was, it is said) | lak | hepayxʷetanwixʷan?a·la (the little girl [actor]) hexsasata (screamed and) yalxilnaklakno?o (she ran away, it is said). "When she lifted up the blanket [from] that woman [who] was all maggoty, it is said, the little girl screamed and ran away, it is said."

(82) we·?is (one) hatxilnal?ok (when she went out) | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) heylape·laklakno?o (he was standing, it is said) | lak | ta·takxona-klakno?o (she took him in, it is said). "When one of them went out to Coyote [who] was standing there, it is said, she took him in, it is said."

(B) Anaphoric theme + syntactic suffix | independent syntactic construction | lak | principal verb expression. In this type of construction, lak substantivizes the included independent syntactic construction and makes it the goal, direct or indirect, of the anaphoric particle and therefore, by reference, of the action of the preceding syntactic construction. Examples:

(83) tananes?eklakno?o (they two went off, it is said). ?e·l?ok (when they did so) | hacepa·la (the hole [actor]) ye·laklakno?o (it was, it is said) | lak | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) he·tyanakxonaklakno?o (he put his arm into, it is said) hacepwa·y?ik (that hole aforementioned). "They two went off, it is said. When they [came to] the hole [which] was there, it is said, Coyote put his arm into that hole, it is said."

(84) ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) ha·nanoklakno?o (he was going off, it is said) xam?al?a·y?ik (to the prairie). ?e·kʷa (when he had done so) | tanmaslakʷa·low (big rabbit) hecne·laklakno?o (he was lying, it is said) | lak | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) "?o·c (Oho!)" noklakno?o (he said, it is said). "Coyote was going off to the prairie, it is said. When he had [come] to a big rabbit [who] was lying there, it is said, Coyote said, 'Oho!' "

(85) xatxanes?eklakno?o (they two arrived, it is said) yacox?anawaykʷa·-lowa·y?ik (to that big tall tipi aforementioned). ?e·l?ok (when they did so) | c?a·pxan?a·la (the bed [actor]) ye·laklakno?o (it was there, it is said) | lak | ha·csokonayla (Coyote [actor]) c?a·pxanwa·y?ik (on that bed) hecneklakno?o (he lay down, it is said). "They two came to that big tall tipi, it is said. When they [came] to the bed [that] was there, it is said, Coyote lay down on that bed, it is said."

(86) hel?eyakxonanoklakno?o (he was peering in, it is said). ?e·l?ok (when he did so) | ko·s?a?aswa·?a·la (those old ones aforementioned [actor]) hecneneslakno?o (they two were lying there, it is said) | lak | wixʷanwa?a·la (that little one aforementioned [actor]) kʷe·lak (a stick [goal]) ta?aneta (picked it up and] . . . . "He was peering in, it is said. When he did so

[and saw] the old ones [who] were lying there, it is said, that little one picked up a stick and . . . ."

21. We began this paper by dividing Tonkawa syntactic constructions into two principal types: simple and complex. Simple syntactic constructions have only one verb, but complex constructions have two or more, all but one of which (i. e. the principal verb) has a syntactic suffix of one kind or another.

We have also noted, however, that many syntactic constructions begin with an anaphoric particle. These anaphoric particles link independent syntactic constructions in much the same way as the syntactic suffixes link the subsidiary and principal verb expressions of a complex syntactic construction.

In general, the initial syntactic construction of a text lacks the anaphoric particle while most of those which follow require it. In other words, the "sentences" of a Tonkawa text are united, not only by their occurrence in a connected narrative, but also by specific syntactic elements (i. e. the anaphoric particles) which, in a sense, summarize the preceding action and relate it, in each instance, to the action which follows.

It is not improbable that this cumbersome syntactic device results from the fact that Tonkawa texts are transmitted orally rather than in written form. Though complete data are lacking, it is possible that devices similar to the Tonkawa anaphoric particle may be found in most, if not all, the languages of preliterate peoples. And it is also worth noting that speakers of English, particularly if they are illiterate, very often begin each sentence of a long utterance with a conjunction or introductory particle like "and," "then," "now," or "well." Speech, unlike writing, appears to require a more or less continuous emphasis on the interconnectedness of the independent syntactic constructions which make up a long utterance.

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THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE KIOWA-APACHE[1]

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WHAT are the origins of the Kiowa-Apache and where do they belong in the cultural classification of North American tribes? To this question I shall try briefly to sketch an answer based upon fieldwork carried out among the Kiowa-Apache during the summer of 1948 and upon analysis of the pertinent literature.

Because the Kiowa-Apache have been so closely associated with the Kiowa for a long time, it has become customary to regard them as simply another Plains people typical in all but language. But the very fact that the Kiowa-Apache are so divergent, linguistically speaking, from their neighbors in the southwestern plains has aroused some curiosity and led to speculation on the question of their origin. An associated question is this: if the Kiowa-Apache are related linguistically to other peoples, might not they be related to such peoples in other aspects of culture as well?

Published opinion on the question of Kiowa-Apache origins and relations may properly be said to have begun with James Mooney, who wrote as long ago as 1898 in his *Calendar History of the Kiowa* that "They have not migrated from the southwest into the plains country, but have come with the Kiowa from the extreme north, where they lay the scene of their oldest traditions, including their great medicine story."[2] Several years later, in the *Handbook of the American Indians*,[3] Mooney reiterated this opinion in his article on the Kiowa-Apache and dismissed them as a tribe insignificant for further investigation when he said,

> They are commonly known as Kiowa-Apache, under the mistaken impression, arising from the fact of their Athapascan affinity, that they are a detached band of the Apache of Arizona. On the contrary, they have never had any political connection with the Apache proper. . . . The Kiowa-Apache did not emigrate from the S. W. into the plains country, but came with the Kiowa from the N. W. plains region. . . . As they are practically a part of the Kiowa in everything but language, they need no extended separate notice.

Without citing every instance, it may be said that with Mooney's view there has

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2 James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (17th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, pp. 141-445, 1898), p. 247.

3 Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 30, part 1, 1907, pp. 701-703.

been general concurrence, passive if not active. For example, Foreman, in his recent historical work, *The Last Trek of the Indians,* flatly states that the Kiowa-Apache "were not Apache Indians at all."[4] Wissler, however, was much more cautious when, in 1940 in his *Indians of the United States,* he left the question open as to whether the Kiowa-Apache split off from the Apaches of the Southwest or whether they came down to the southwestern plains region from the north.[5]

In 1934, J. G. McAllister gave the Kiowa-Apache their first extended field attention, and his material on their social organization indicates very definitely that the Kiowa-Apache, contrary to the older view, require much separate notice. However, the historical implications of the material were not followed by McAllister.

It has perhaps by now been surmised, from the statements I have quoted, that I think there is reason to doubt that the origins of the Kiowa-Apache lie to the northwest as claimed, and that, on the contrary, they may lie with the Apache peoples of the Southwest. Kroeber, in his *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America,* also inclines toward this view.[6] What evidence may be adduced for it?

First of all, let us consider social structure. In a comparative paper written in 1936, Opler analyzed the kinship systems and associated behavior patterns of a number of tribes, including data from his own field studies of the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, and Lipan Apache, as well as the existing materials on the Western Apache, the Navaho, and the Kiowa-Apache. In summary, Opler found it possible to draw a dichotomy between two basic types of system among these tribes. One of these categories he called the Jicarilla type, distinguished by eight terminological and behavior features. To the Jicarilla type belongs the Lipan Apache system which varies from the Jicarilla kinship system in but one respect. Turning to the Kiowa-Apache system, Opler found that "with the exception of the grandparent-grandchild relationships, which are all covered by one self-reciprocal term, the system is identical with that of the Lipan. It clearly belongs to our Jicarilla type."[7] On the behavioral side, the Kiowa-Apache system agreed with the Jicarilla type in such particulars as grandparent-grandchild joking rela-

4 Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1936), p. 305.

5 Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States* (New York, 1940).

6 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), pp. 37, 48, 79.

7 Morris E. Opler, *The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-speaking Tribes* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 620-633, 1936).

tionship, avuncular-nepotic joking relations, restraint between siblings of opposite sex, and freedom with one's sibling of the same sex, including, in the case of male siblings, sexual privileges with each other's wives. Thus, the evidence from social structure seems to indicate that the Kiowa-Apache belong to a branch of the Apachean peoples that also includes the Jicarilla and Lipan. How does this kind of evidence compare with other kinds of data?

With regard to linguistic features, the Kiowa-Apache share with the Lipan and the Jicarilla a shift from the aspirated *t* of other Apachean languages to an aspirated *k*. Hoijer, in a comparative paper on the Athapascan languages, came to conclusions based upon linguistic data that agree very closely with those of Opler based on social organization data. He found that the Apache tribes could be divided into an eastern and western group. Significantly, Kiowa-Apache forms one member of his eastern group, the others being Jicarilla and Lipan.[8]

An additional linguistic point of interest, I think, though doubtless less significant than Hoijer's conclusions, is the kind of response I obtained in the field to questions about the various Apache languages. Many of my Kiowa-Apache informants travel about a good deal today, sometimes visiting the Mescalero Reservation, where they have contacts with other Apache. Without exception, my Kiowa-Apache informants stated they felt the Lipan and Jicarilla languages to be closer to their own and easier to get along in than either Mescalero or Chiricahua. Thus the psychological aspect of language seems to agree with the technical linguistic findings.

A third line of evidence that I wish to touch upon is folklore. All of the Apachean tribes in the Southwest share a tale concerning the exploits of two culture heroes, variously thought of as brothers, relatives, or friends, usually called Killer-of-Enemies and Child-of-the-Water. Again, there is a dichotomy that may be made on the basis of which of the two heroes is the dominant and more intrepid figure. With the Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, and Lipan, it is Killer-of-Enemies. With the Chiricahua and Mescalero the roles are reversed and it is Child-of-the-Water who is the more outstanding of the two.[9] During the course of my fieldwork among the Kiowa-Apache, I obtained a lengthy folktale from an old man which, despite some divergences of detail, I find upon analysis not only has the same fundamental patterning of characters and events as the twin culture heroes myth of all the other Apache tribes,

8 Harry Hoijer, *The Southern Athapaskan Languages* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 75-87, 1938).

9 Morris E. Opler, *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians* (Memoir, American Folk-lore Society, vol. 36, 1940), p. 3.

but with reference to the dichotomy mentioned, fits squarely into the division that includes the Jicarilla and Lipan. It is worth noting that such a myth is not found in any published accounts of Kiowa folklore, precluding the possibility that the Kiowa-Apache borrowed it from that source. Goddard, in his *Jicarilla Apache Texts,* commenting on this tale, has written that "These culture heroes in the details of their names, birth, and exploits, are Southwestern."[10] Nonetheless, the folkloristic evidence for assigning the origin of the Kiowa-Apache to the Apachean peoples of the Southwest is not as clear-cut as is the case with other types of material. The twin culture heroes myth I have mentioned is found also among the northern Athapascan Sarsi in the account of Curtis,[11] though it is absent from the longer Sarsi collection by Goddard.[12] Among the Sarsi, however, not only are there differences in the details of the exploits of the culture heroes, but perhaps more significant, there is an absence of distinction between the heroes and between their roles. In the exploits, it is always the pronoun "they" that is used, giving no indication of their relative importance or of the leading role of one or the other. This is markedly in contrast to Apachean usage.

A number of beliefs and customs of the Kiowa-Apache seem to link them to the Apache of the Southwest. Of particular interest is the complex surrounding death. Immediate and hasty burial of the deceased, the destruction of his property not bequeathed prior to death, the movement of the camp without delay after a death lest the ghost of the deceased return and hover about, refusal to visit the graves of the dead, a strict taboo on mentioning the names of dead relatives—all of these usages the Kiowa-Apache have in common with other Apache tribes. The idea that when a person is near death a relative may appear in disguised form, frequently in the form of an owl, to escort the dying person to the afterworld is another Apachean feature prominent in Kiowa-Apache belief.

The strong emphasis upon the extended domestic family as the basic unit to which one owes his fundamental loyalty and to which he looks for security and protection is prominent with the Kiowa-Apache as with other Apache.

With respect to differences, it should be pointed out that the Kiowa-Apache do not share with other Apachean groups the masked-dancing cult.[12a] Any explan-

10 Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 8, 1911, p. 196, footnote 2.

11 E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (Cambridge, 1928), vol. 18, pp. 91-122, 136-144, 158-162, 210-214.

12 P. E. Goddard, *Sarsi Texts* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 179-277, 1914).

12a That is, no informants of the present writer were able to recall masked dancing ever being practised, and there is no evidence of it in McAllister's account of Kiowa-Apache social

ation offered at this point for this difference must be tentative, of course. I would suggest that the Kiowa-Apache had already split off from the Southwestern Apachean stem before those contacts with the Pueblos occurred that resulted in the borrowing of much of the Apachean masked-dancing complex.

It should be pointed out that Kiowa-Apache ceremonialism was a weakly-developed imitation of dancing societies, lacking both the number of societies found commonly in the Plains and the fixed age-graded sequence. The Kiowa-Apache had but four societies. Practically all the children belonged to the Rabbit Society but very often did not go on to membership in the adult groups. In fact, the Kiowa-Apache attitude toward these groups was one of great reluctance to join. Membership and the activities associated with participation were regarded as arduous.[13] This attitude, plus the apparently rapid breakdown of the societies under the first impact of white contact, is strongly suggestive that they were not basic or well integrated in Kiowa-Apache traditions, but rather something of a superficial and relatively recent accommodation to Plains ceremonialism.

What can we conclude, at least in tentative fashion, from the preceding discussion? In terms of language, social structure, and a number of important beliefs and customs, the Kiowa-Apache seem unmistakably linked to the Apachean peoples of the Southwest. The evidence is somewhat less clearly

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organization. However, in the work of the missionary Thomas C. Battey, *Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* (Boston and New York, 1876), we find the following: "Witnessed another of their dances, being a representation of the Wild Apache Medicine Dance. . . . All the performers, except two young women, wore hideous masks, some with distorted noses, grotesquely painted, and fantastically dressed, with feathers attached to their legs, arms, backs, and head-dresses. The latter consisted of light wooden frames. The two young women were very prettily dressed in garments made of some dark blue material for backs and fronts; the sides were of a brilliant scarlet. . . . Over this, and about the shoulders, was an ornament. . . . It consists of a cape made of red strouding or scarlet list cloth. . . . There were three sets who took part in the dance, one of which represented the old, decrepit people apparently bent with age, and half starved, dressed in buckskins and rags, bearing masks of some white material over the face, with noses out of all proportion, and ears standing out several inches from the head. . . ." (pp. 127-129).

The preceding description is interesting for the parallels it suggests to Apache masked dancing generally. The masked aspect of the performers suggests the imitation of the gahe, the mountain-dwelling supernaturals of the Apache peoples. The head-dresses of light wooden frames is very reminiscent of the yucca framework of the head-dress worn by Apache masked dancers, such as that pictured in M. E. Opler, *An Apache Lifeway* (Chicago, 1941), opposite p. 109. Again, the cape as an item of female attire fits in with Apache practice. The dancers with "distorted noses," wearing masks of white material over the face, are strongly suggestive of the clowns. So far as the present writer is aware, Battey's description is the only data in print attesting to masked-dancing among the Kiowa-Apache.

13 J. Gilbert McAllister, "Kiowa-Apache Social Organization" (in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, F. Eggan, ed., Chicago, 1937), pp. 150, 153.

pointed in that direction in the case of folklore. If this is so, what of Mooney's feeling that Kiowa-Apache origins lie with the northern Athapascans, such as the Sarsi?

Historical sources have located the Kiowa-Apache, in the company of the Kiowa, as far north as the Black Hills about 1780. From that date on, a steady southward drift can be traced by reference to historical accounts to the region which they have occupied in more recent times in the southwestern Plains.[14] The Kiowa have a strong tradition of an even earlier location to the west, in the vicinity of the present-day site of Butte City, and also of visits northward to the Sarsi. It may well be that Mooney's view of northern Athapascan origins for the Kiowa-Apache was based upon his recording of such traditional claims by informants who had acquired the idea as a result of the long association of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, in which Kiowa-Apache traditions regarding origins were assimilated to those of the larger, more dominant Kiowa. Such a premature conclusion as Mooney's would tend to be reinforced by the fact that Kiowa-Apache speech, like that of all Apache peoples, is not entirely unrelated to that of the Sarsi and other northern Athapascan peoples. However, subsequent data, such as we have presented, will not support Mooney's conclusion.

I would suggest, tentatively, that the Kiowa-Apache split off early from an eastern Apachean prototype culture that included the Jicarilla and Lipan and migrated northward into the Plains. For reasons that are not yet clear—possibly numerical inferiority, as suggested by Kroeber—they joined with the Kiowa and remained closely associated with them throughout their subsequent history, taking on an external adaptation to the Plains pattern of dependence upon the buffalo and extensive usage of its products for tools, clothing, and shelter. At the same time, they borrowed superficially from Plains ceremonial organization and activities. But in regard to language, social structure, various beliefs and customs, and, to some extent, folklore, they retained features that definitely mark them as Apachean in origin.[15]

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14 For the approximate locations of the Kiowa-Apache (and Kiowa) in late historic times, see the map of Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*.

15 A fuller study of Kiowa-Apache origins and relationships is in progress, which it is hoped will be published in the not-distant future.

NOTES ON THE DEITY FESTIVAL OF YAWATANO, JAPAN[1]

Y. S. MATSUMOTO

I

CITIES, towns, and villages in Japan, however large or small, each possesses its individually enshrined tutelary deities (ujigami). In 1938 in Japan proper, there were 112,972 shrines of various grades from the small village shrines without official status to the National Shrine of Ise.[2] Holtom suggests that the figure for the 1940's is perhaps somewhat lower—about 86,000, due to the elimination of inferior shrines or absorbtion by larger ones.[3] Wards, districts, and street blocks are divided among the deities so that the divine grace will be impartially distributed among all its inhabitants. An infant is born under the benign protection of the deity of his birthplace, and the child grows to adulthood under its grace. When the tutelary deity is honored annually at the shrine, usually in the autumn, it is an occasion of much joy and festivity.

In the ancient mythological period, blood relations formed the clan group and a common deity (ujigami) was worshipped by them. Even to this day many a large community of persons bears the same family name. The deity was the guardian of the group: they were his elect. Within this consanguineous organization basic political, social, and community functions were carried out. In the gradual evolution of Japanese society toward agriculture as the main occupational pursuit, such functions came to be performed by regional or territorial group of neighbors, not necessarily united by blood ties. As the familial ties weakened, the neighborhood ties became stronger. The worship of the deity was continued by such regional groups, and today each tutelary deity is closely associated with the locality where it is enshrined. In general, this localism is the important characteristic of the deity.[4] And to a great extent, it is around the

1 Materials for the following paper were obtained in Japan in September, 1946. The writer wishes to state his obligation and appreciation to Messrs Herbert Passin, Eitaro Suzuki, Takashi Koyama, and Keigo Seki for their observations and comments on the festival which have been incorporated into this paper.

2 Board of Tourist Industry, *Shinto Shrines* (Tokyo: Japanese Government Railways, 1938), p. 7.

3 D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 42-43. For detailed discussion of the status of Shinto shrines, see Masaharu Anesaki, *Religious Life of the Japanese People* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai [Society for International Cultural Relations], 1938), Chapter 2.

4 Toshiaki Harada, *Social Organizations for the Village-Deity Cult of Japan* (Tokyo: Nippon Bunka Chuo Renmai [Central Federation of Japanese Culture], 1942), p. 2.

belief in its tutelary deity that village life revolves as the deity festival of Yawatano will illustrate.[5]

The detailed organization of the deity cult and the chronology of the festival proceedings are not necessarily uniform throughout the country because of differences in political, economic, and religious pasts. However, though each differs with its own particular local version, festivals are held along a general set pattern. The festival of Yawatano presents the common ingredients around which shrine festivals are held: the tutelary deity, the parishioners, the Young Men's Group, the portable tabernacle, and the various Shinto paraphernalia.

II

Yawatano is located on the eastern coast of Izu peninsula, south of Tokyo, one of the four wards of Tajima-mura, Shizuoka Prefecture. Two areas can be distinguished in Yawatano by reason of geographical features. One group of approximately 170 houses extends along the beach area while the other group of 60 houses is nestled on a hillside beside the coastline. The former area is called hama (beach) and the latter oka (hill). As the houses run from the sloping hillside on to the seashore, there is no clear demarcation between the two. The fire brigade house halfway up the hill is used as an arbitrary dividing point. The residents of hama engage mainly in fishing enterprises with part-time work in farming, whereas the oka families engage in agriculture throughout the year with some forestry work, especially in charcoal production.

In the early Tokugawa era (about 1650), Yawatano was governed by one hereditary nanushi (village head) with a representative of the farmers and one of the fishermen serving as his advisors in the administration of internal and external village affairs. Then, as now, the household was considered the unit, with the interest of the individual submerged regularly in the wishes of the family group. The community was divided into several smaller groups, each consisting of heads of five houses (gonin-gumi) and later of ten houses. A kumi-gashira (group head) was chosen through election by the members, or the position was rotated among the members. The primary duty of the five-man organization was to bear the joint responsibility for the payment of taxes to their feudal lord and for general good behavior and civil activities of the members. This gonin-gumi rendered mutual service in loans, marriages, and funerals. The neighborhood organization so soundly tied the group members together that they looked toward it rather than to kinship relations in time of need or festivities.

5 Kunio Yanagida and Keigo Seki, *Nippon Minzokugaku Nyumon* [*Introduction to Japanese Ethnology*] (Tokyo: Kaizo-sha, 1942), p. 297.

By the change in the national administrative system during the Meiji Restoration period, which began in 1868, the nanushi became a kucho (ward head). Besides the neighborhood groups, a ward assembly (ku-kai giin) of twelve members was established under him. Later this was abolished and a council came into existence with four and eight councillors elected from oka and hama respectively. The assembly, and later the council, seemed to have no real administrative duties except in advising the ward head. Its main purpose, informants stated, was that of taking charge of the common forest land owned by the village.

By 1941 the militarists, through the Home Ministry, ordered the uniform establishment of local neighborhood groups (rinpo-han or tonari-gumi) throughout the country. In compliance, the Yawatano council was abolished and twenty-three new heads of neighborhood groups were appointed by the new village mayor (soncho). All during the war, these neighborhood groups supplied their allotted quota of food crops, brought waste land under cultivation, and served as a channel for rationing and as a medium for transmitting the orders of Tokyo authorities down to each individual villager. After the termination of the war in February, 1946, the war-time system was abolished and the pre-war system of twelve councillors elected by ward members and the older form of neighborhood groups were revived.[6]

The system of common labor called yui is still in operation. This is the most ancient form of neighborhood coöperation in Japan. Yui is the joint labor efforts offered to a family by their neighbors, usually about ten or fifteen persons at a time, during seed planting, harvesting, re-roofing or building a farmhouse, the celebration of birth or marriage, the funeral ceremony, etc. One farmer or a member of his family will offer labor in time of need, and it is expected that the recipient will do likewise in exchange. Yui makes for strong group solidarity.

Yawatano maintains both an association of farmers and an association of fishermen, making no distinction as to oka or hama members. Since many of the men are part-time farmers and fishermen, they join both associations.

There is much intermarriage between the oka and hama groups, many with distant relatives. It is said, however, that the oka women dislike marrying into hama because the work on the farmland is then much harder as the men of hama spent a great deal of their time at sea.

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6 The existence of neighborhood associations became a matter of public controversy among both Japanese officials and the Allied Occupation Force because of their supposedly undemocratic character still tinged with its wartime duties. In May, 1947 the neighborhood groups were completely abolished.

III

The Young Men's Group (wakamono-gumi) of Yawatano, an age-grading system, is typical of such organizations found in many rural communities in Japan. In 1936, there were approximately 18,000 such groups in Japan with membership well over 2,700,000 boys and young men.[7] Similar organizations are reported in the Indonesia-Melanesia areas, India, Assam, and Southeast Asia.[8] The organization and function of the Yawatano Young Men's Group will be briefly noted, as they play an important role in the festival proceedings.

The primary and original purpose of the Young Men's Group was to create a group which would function properly in time of emergency or distress. In fact it is also called hijyo-gumi, an emergency group. The group met the needs of the village for night fire watchmen and rescue workers in case of shipwrecks. The organization further extended their interest into group labor, social recreation, preparation for marriage, and participation in shrine affairs. They aid in the general preservation of village order and peace. The youths, usually from puberty, look forward to becoming members of the group.

The Yawatano Young Men's Group dates back to the Bunka period (1804-1817) when it was created by Hachibei Oka, then the village nanushi. The group was reorganized twice during the Meiji period, once in 1882 and then again in 1891, but the reorganization practically amounted to only the change of the official title. The earliest constitution of the Young Men's Group set forth five points which were to be observed by the young men of the village. This is called the jyomoku (regulation) used to enforce discipline among the youths.[9]

1. The members of the young men's group will adhere to the principles of loyalty (chugi), filial duty (koko), and good manners (gyogi).

2. The members will be friendly and coöperative with fellow members and thus build an esprit de corps (dantai-shin).

3. The members will respect and learn from persons who are older, who are more diligent, and who are otherwise virtuous.

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7 Dai Nippon Rengo Seinen-dan [Allied Young Men's Association of Greater Japan], *Wakamono Seido no Kenkyu [Research on the Young Men System]* (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Rengo Seinen-dan, 1936), p. 1.

8 For example see Robert F. Spencer and S. A. Barrett, *Notes on a Bachelor House in the South China Area* (American Anthropologist, vol. 50, pp. 463-478, 1948).

9 Practically all the Young Men's Group of Japan have such documents. The oldest one now in existence is dated the 5th year of Empo (1677). The system in Japan, however, probably dates back much further.

4. The members will do all that is within their power for community welfare and its betterment.

5. The members will fully respect the tutelary deities.

In 1882, the regulation was elaborated and detailed statements were formulated as to what constituted breaking of the rules and the penalty for such acts. It includes such items as the neglect of night watch, laziness in participation of village work, gambling, "violation" of woman, boisterous behavior, and quarreling. The punishment usually meted out limited social activities of the guilty youth or assigned a "laborious" task to him. He receives the reproof of the entire community while serving his punishment. Special meetings are held by the Young Men's Group to scrutinize the conducts of its members and to decide the penalty for those who had not lived up to the regulations.

To qualify for membership in this village organization, the youth must be sixteen years of age and his name must appear on the ward registry. He remains a member until he reaches the age of thirty-five. The members are divided into the following age-grade categories:

1. Ko-wakashu (small young men) between the ages of 16 and 17. They run minor errands, prepare beds in the dormitory, and serve as a general clean-up group.

2. Chu-wakashu (middle young men) between the ages of 18 to 25. They are primarily the active group. They take change of the ko-wakashu and keep night watch of the village.

3. O-wakashu (older young men) between the ages of 26 to 35 years. These older men, mostly married, serve as the officers of the group and plan its activities.

The Young Men's Group of oka area has a separate farmhouse of its own in the middle of the village in oka sector. The dormitory is equipped with kitchen facilities and complete bedding. The hama young men, however, do not have any definite dormitory but stay in a private farmhouse of one of the wealthier landowners. Those who are permitted to live at the dormitories are limited to unmarried young men of the ko-wakashu and chu-wakashu classes, that is to single men 16 to 25 years of age.

Before the establishment of a national school system in Japan, it was here that the youths of the rural village gathered for their education. They were taught reading, writing, "morals," and farming techniques by a professional teacher, but more usually by the older men of the o-wakashu group. With this

responsibility taken over by the schools, the dormitory serves now primarily as a recreational center for the boys. The dormitory subscribes regularly to the newspaper and to the radio. Except during the festival and the New Year's holiday, the boys do not eat at the dormitory but gather from their own homes after the day's work and stay until the next morning. The boys looked forward to discussions, song-fests, and all-around good companionship. The active members, as a rule, became leading figures of the community.

The Young Men's Group possesses twenty-five acres of virgin forest land which was presented to them by the village council. The expense of maintaining their dormitory is defrayed mostly from the profit gained by selling timber cut from the forest every eight years. Additional money is earned by group labor. For food and drink during the festival and New Year, the weathier and influential men of the village contribute large donations, with the other farmers giving what they can.

IV

High upon a hill overlooking oka and hama communities, almost secluded from view by the luxuriant growth of lofty cedar trees, is the Yawata-Kinomiya shrine, wholly blended into the quiet natural surroundings. This shrine is mentioned in the ancient Engishiki,[10] which would date the shrine back to more than a thousand years. Formerly the Yawata shrine was the tutelary deity of oka, and the Kinomiya shrine that of hama. However, they are now enshrined together, and the Yawata-Kinomiya shrine is worshipped by the villagers as their common tutelary deities.

The deities, much like the Greek gods, had individual temperament and personality. Shortcomings and divine qualities are clearly defined. An amusing legend relates the Kinomiya deity's fondness for sake (Japanese wine). The Kinomiya deity, called Iwakura-wake-no-mikoto, was one enshrined in a cavern on the beach shore. From this natural cavern on a cape point by the ocean, the deity stopped all ships that sailed into the offing and demanded sake. It was said that even on days of favorable sailing wind, the ship slowed down when it came near the offing of Yawatano. When sake was thrown into the sea the ships were able to regain their former speed. The troubled people finally removed the mischievous deity to the present precinct and enshrined it together with the Yawata deity on Iori hill. Whether brought under suitable control or deprived of his divine power away from the sea, the deity behaved thereafter. In the

10 Engishiki, an old manuscript on shrines and deities, was supposedly compiled in the year 905 AD.

cavern a small shrine still remains as a reminder of the Kinomiya deity's former residence. The Kinomiya deity is said to prevent sea-sickness. If a shrine priest boards a ship, all passengers automatically became immune to sea-sickness. It is also believed that alcoholics can rid themselves of the drinking habit by taking an oath before the sake-loving Kinomiya.

The Yawata deity is Hachiman, the war god, which is said to be dedicated to Emperor Ojin (270-310 AD). This deity is believed to be a guardian of military families.[11] The characters for Hachiman can also be read as Yawata, and it is supposed that Yawatano derived its name from this shrine. The Hachiman deity was religiously worshipped by the warriors of the feudal age. The ordinary villager in time of ancient civil battles or of modern warfare prayed for victory and for the safety of the warriors or soldiers departing for war.

The precincts of the shrine are situated on top of Iori hill (Hill of Hermitage), surrounded on all sides by heavy forest. The road coming up from oka leads to some mossy stone steps which are arranged in two rows with large cedars between them. Ascending the stone pathway, there is the shrine office on one side and, further on, a large stone basin (chozubachi) into which fresh spring water gushes. Climbing more steps, the shrine itself becomes visible. The shrine proper is composed of three parts: (1) In front, the Haiden, the Hall of Worship. It is a large gathering room, eighteen by thirty feet. Because of the tall bamboo and cedars the area around the Haiden is dark even in daylight. The room contains no furniture. Shintoists, like the Puritans, made their places of worship plain and without ornamentation. The structure is simply built of unvarnished wood. (2) In the center, the Heiden, Hall of the Paper Cuttings. This is a small alcove used for presenting offerings to the deities. (3) In the back, on the highest ground level, the Honden, where the deities are actually enshrined. No one knew what the figures of the deities looked like except one informant who recalled glancing at them when the Honden was being repaired years ago. He remembered no more than that the two statues were shaped as human figures, carved out of wood, three feet in height. A man could carry one with both hands. There seemed to be a noticeable lack of attempt to sharply define the figures of the deities.[12]

In front of the Haiden there stood on guard a pair of stone komainu, beasts

11 The Hachiman shrines have been the most popular in Japan.

12 Tasuku Harada, *Faith of Japan* (New York, 1914), p. 31: "The Japanese . . . in all ages has been quite content without definite conceptions of *kami* (deity). The people have not cared to idolize *kami* even to their spiritual sight. *Kami* should remain forever mysterious and incomprehensible."

which looked like a combination of lion and dog. It was their duty to protect the enshrined deities and ward off evil spirits. Around the trunk of the large tree directly to the side of the Haiden hung a twisted straw rope with strips of white paper attached. This was the sacred shimenawa which also averted evil.

V

Each year on the 15th and 16th of September, Yawatano celebrates its shrine festival, as it has done each year for over a hundred years. The deities of rural Japan are usually enshrined in deep canyons or, like Yawatano, on high hills or mountains, and once annually the deities come down from the heavenly world into that of human beings. Throughout the year the villagers had gone to worship at the shrine. Contrarily, during the festival, the deities are thought to descend from their shrine and mingle with the people. By the festival the deities are brought in close communion with the people of its locality. It is around this occasion that the festival is celebrated.[13]

Residents of both oka and hama prepare for the festival on the morning of the 15th by taking hot baths and drinking sake to purify themselves. Cleanliness and purification are the themes of Shintoism. This is especially true of the officials and attendants who will participate in the opening ceremony at the Yawata-Kinomiya shrine in oka. Everyone dresses in his or her best clothes for the festival. Women and children don colorful long-sleeved kimonos with brocade sashes. Men dress in their formal dress (hakama and haori) and not a few in Western-styled suits. Many of the villagers, who are working in large cities or in other farming areas because of limited farm land in Yawatano, have returned to participate in the festival.

The officials in charge of the festival are the parishioners, the shanin (persons of the shrine). There are six shanin from oka and six more from hama. These positions of the layman priests of the shrine are hereditary and possessed by special families. The shanin are an ujiko group, or the group of the protégé of the Yawatano tutelary deities, and aid the professional Shinto priest in the duties of the shrine. Each shanin member possesses equal status in the group. One family in oka, called negiya (House of negi, a shinto priest), serves as the official shrine priest from generation to generation. Usually the shanin are also the leaders in village government.

Until forty years ago, the shanin observed the opening ceremony in kamishimo, the ceremonial dress of the feudal knights, but at present they wear the

13 Kazuo Hiko, *Miyaza no Kenkyu* [*Research on Shrine Guilds*] (Tokyo: Kobun-do, 1941), pp. 490-492.

ordinary formal attire of haori and hakama, as do most other male villagers. The young tabernacle carriers of the Young Men's Group, however, still retain the feudal ceremonial dress; that is, the black head-gear (eboshi) and the white labor kimono (suikan).

The festival that the writer observed at Yawatano on September 15 and 16, 1946 is no doubt typical of past and of future festivals. Going up to the shrine from oka to witness the formal opening ceremony, the writer noticed many villagers bathing in their wooden tubs in the open yard. At the shrine ground, there are no crowds of people. Only those officially participating in the opening ceremony assemble, and the atmosphere is one of grave solemnity. By 2 PM all the shanins and the young attendants were gathered at the shrine office. Representatives from the village, ward, and neighborhood groups, the fishing association, the farmers' association, and the Young Men's Group were also present. The group, numbering about forty-five persons, started up the mossy stone steps through the avenue of ancient cedars toward the Haiden. Halfway up the steps each person stopped momentarily to wash his hands and rinse his mouth at the stone basin as an act of purification. In front of the Haiden, to the right of the doorway, two portable tabernacles (mikoshi) have been placed on stands. In the gloomy Heiden two pairs of lanterns were lit. The group seated themselves on the straw mats inside the bare and scrupulously clean Haiden (see Fig. 1).

After a moment's silence, the officiating Shinto priest, dressed in bright green ceremonial robe, entered the sanctuary and commenced the ceremony by waving the paper-cuttings (gohei) which he had taken from the Heiden. He waved it in front of the audience in three directions—once to his right, once to his left, and once in front. This warded off evil and purified the priests and participants. The priest then took a prayer script from the Heiden and began to solemnly read the Purification Prayer:

> In reverence and awe: the great gods of the purification place who came into existence when the great God Izanagi deigned to wash and purify himself on the plain of Hyuga of Tachibana near the River Odo in Hyuga in Tsukushi, shall deign to purify and deign to cleanse whatever there may be of sins and pollutions committed inadvertently or deliberately by the officials serving here today. Listen ye to these words. Thus I say reverentially.

The stress seemed to be more on the solemn formality than on the content of the prayer. The inner shrine door of the Honden, which until now had remained closed, was opened by the priest and his assistant. They took out a small narrow table from a closet in the Haiden to place in the alcove. From this closet, food

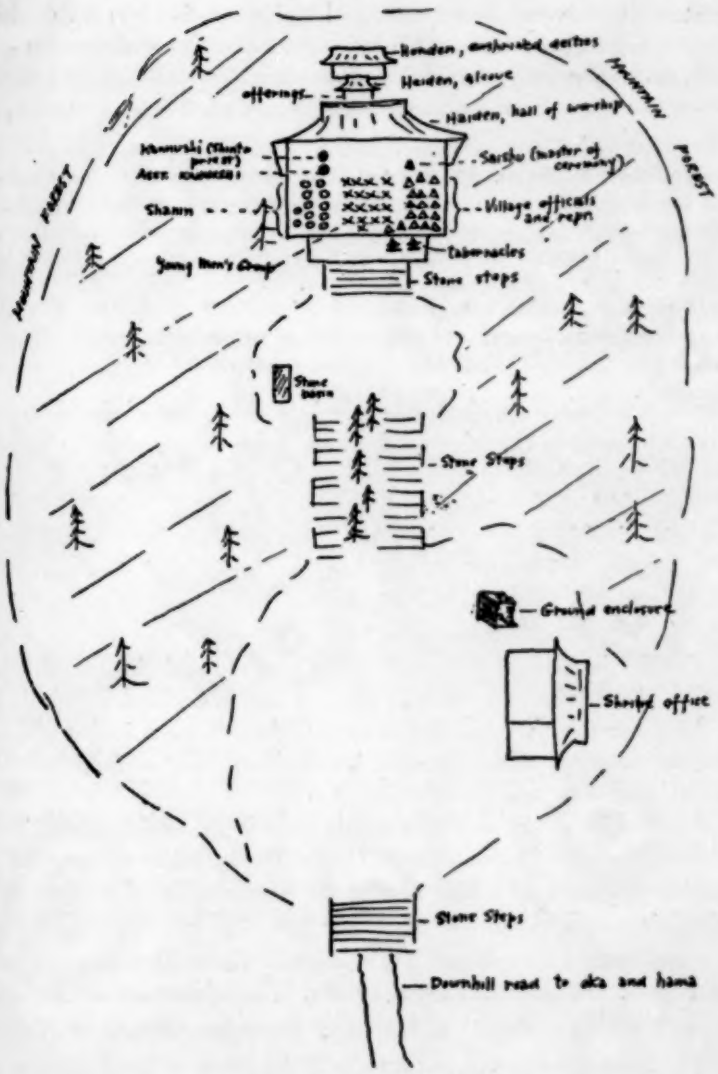

FIG. 1. Diagrammatic representation of the deity shrine at Yawatano. In the Haiden is shown the seating arrangement during the festival.

offerings to the deities were brought out and set on the table. These consisted of sake, rice, vegetables and fruits, fish, and spring water. The assistant priest followed the offering of the sacred food by the recitation of the prayer for the annual festival. The first script contained the standard prayer which concerned the festival. As it was being read, all persons lower their heads in reverence:

> In reverence and awe: I humbly declare in the mighty presence of the gods of the Yawata-Kinomiya shrine. In honor of thee, deities, who according to the command of the dear divine ancestors who dwell here peacefully and serenely, I observe this annual great ceremony in reverence and awe. Ye may partake of the food, sake, and other various offerings which have been presented in purification. I pray that ye deities may jointly cause the sovereign (sumeramikoto) to live peacefully and firmly, and again ye may give favor to protect the princes and all the people under the heaven to live peacefully and enduringly. Listen ye to these words. Thus I say reverentially.

The master of ceremony (saishu) then called out the names of the various representatives, who came to the front of the main shrine to pay respect. They came in pairs, sat directly in front of the inner shrine, clapped their hands twice and bowed, after which they returned to their former positions. After all the various representatives had been called, the priest again took the gohei, stepped outside the shrine, and waved it over the two portable shrines, and then returned into the Haiden. This is known as the mitama-utsushi, the transference of the holy spirit, to the two portable tabernacles, one each for the Yawata and Kinomiya deities. Inside, the door of the inner shrine is closed and the priests leave the sanctuary. The shanins take the sake offering, and each drink a little from the bottle. In contrast to the preceding solemnity, there is much joking and bantering after the ceremony. The ceremony lasted about thirty minutes. No women participated in or witnessed the ceremony.

The ceremonial group then proceeded down to the shrine office. The two portable tabernacles are brought down by the Young Men's Group and placed in a ground enclosure with the sacred straw festoons. In the olden days the portable shrines were carried by the shanins, but this duty has been transferred to the young men of the village. The tabernacle of the Kinomiya is carried by the hama group and that of Yawata by oka. The tabernacles are put into the resting place while the shanins gather inside the shrine office for their chanting ceremony.

Inside the shrine office, the twelve shanins sit in a ring—around a branch of the pasania tree erected in the center of the room—to observe the chanting and nusumi-zake (stealing sake) ceremony. Each person took seven leaves from the

branch and held them like a fan. The priest went around three times pouring a little sake on the leaves which the shanins drank. The priest later gathered the leaves to throw out a small window in the wall. No explanation could be obtained as to the reason for this ceremony other than from one informant who merely stated that in this ceremony the shanins took on the air of persons who had drunk stolen sake but feigned ignorance of it. He could elaborate no further. On completion of sake-stealing, a chant is sung in harmony with a drum beat. The chant seemed to serve more or less as a mysterious and secretive family formula of the shanins. The song has been handed down orally generation after generation and the meaning of the verse seems to have been lost. One Japanese ethnologist[14] has noted it as:

What are you doing with the leaves
Of a pasania grown on the Iori hill?
May (we) live in the precinct,
Where young leaves are spread.

After repeating this chant of three lines over and over again for twenty minutes, the shanins each consume a little festive red rice with sake. This concluding the formal ceremony at oka, the procession transporting the two tabernacles to hama is begun. The shanins and the young men carrying the portable shrines place a piece of white paper in their mouths. The paper compels them to be silent and vigilant, and retains the purification received in the Haiden. The festival paraphernalia carried by the shanins and the young attendants lined up for the okudari (descending) procession from oka to the village square in hama in the following order:

The dew-brush (tsuyu-barai). This is a small wooden bucket containing water and a brush made of branches. A remnant from the feudal days, the dew-brush carrier cries out "shita-ni shita-ni (down, down)" meaning "down on your knees," which was the heralding cry during a feudal lord's procession. The villagers no longer kneel, but merely bow their heads. The dew-brush carrier sprinkles water with the branch as he goes.

The large drum (odaiko). The procession descends very slowly to the timing of the drum beat.

Paper-cutting pendent (gohei). This consists of white papers cut in particular fashion and fastened to the top of a Sakaki branch. The gohei is used widely in many ways all over Japan. It is explained as an object possessed with the

14 Yasumaro Watanabe, *Izu no Yawatano Matsuri* [*Yawatano Festival of Izu*] (Omatsuri [The Festival], no. 13, March 18, 1943, pp. 455-467).

spirit of the deities, or as an instrument to eliminate pollution and impurities. Simultaneously it is regarded as a sacred offering to the patron deities.[15]

Officiating priests.

Kegs of sake (Japanese wine). The wooden kegs of sake are offered to the hama people by the oka procession. Later, in the return procession, the offering is made by the hama to oka people.

Kinomiya tabernacle. The Kinomiya deity, as might be expected, follows the kegs of sake. It is interesting to note that this deity seems to enjoy more popularity among both farmers and fishermen than the Yawata deity.

Yawata tabernacle.

Shanins.

Village officials and representatives.

The remaining residents of oka joined the procession as the parade passed through the oka district. They meet the tabernacle with a low bow and joined in at the end of the procession line. The procession therefore became longer and longer as it went, until finally almost all the people of oka were on their way to spend the remainder of the day and night in hama.

The tabernacles, reaching the square in hama, were placed on the otabisho (resting-place of the divine trip). A musical band composed of flutes, drums, and shamisen (somewhat like a guitar) begin a concert on a small outdoor stage. The villagers have gathered around the fringe of the square to watch the young men's strength contest which is to begin in the square. The atmosphere now is one of much gaiety and liveliness.

The youths of the Young Men's Group have been waiting for the arrival of the procession. Most of them wear bright female kimono with a cotton towel around their heads, and faces are painted in an exaggerated female make-up.[16] Informants were hazy as to the reason for this. Some merely stated that it added color to the festival and that the disguise as women added to the amusement of the festival. One informant traced it back to the ancient custom where men disguised themselves as witches (miko) in the service of the deities. Others thought the make-up took the place of masks which used to be worn to hide the wearer's identity. A good many of the lads, who had been sipping sake while waiting, were highly intoxicated. Others acted as if they were. The young men

15 Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

16 This custom is observed in most shrine festivals by the young men in all parts of Japan.

rushed out into the middle of the square to scramble for the daimanto to begin the main event of the festival.

The daimanto is a large square pillar on top of which is fixed a large square wooden block. It is over six feet tall and weighs seventeen kan (about 141 pounds). The large wooden piece on top is covered with red cloth on all four sides and an appropriate symbol is placed on top. In a festival during wartime, a soldier doll stood on the wooden block. This year, following the termination of war, the symbol selected was the pine tree and the crane. Both are auspicious symbols: the pines are evergreen and the cranes possess long life.[17] The youth grasps the daimanto tightly with both hands and raises it to vertical position, trying to hold it up as long as he is able. Because of its weight, the daimanto usually came crashing down to the ground as soon as it is lifted. The boys rush and scramble to have their turns in raising the daimanto. The village population especially the young girls, in hilarious excitement give outbursts of loud laughter and shout encouragement to their favored contestants. The youth who manages to hold it in the air the longest period is acknowledged as the Hercules of the community for the year. Until several years ago, the young men of oka had a strength contest with those of hama, but this diamanto contest was called off because of frequent fierce quarrels that arose between them as a result. The festival gives the young people of Yawatano an opportunity to mix company in public. Opportunities for such social contacts are limited in rural life. The strength contest and the entertainment program of the next evening give the young men and women a chance for better acquaintance. One respondent hinted that couples slipping off into the dark shadows of the beach boats with sexual intentions are not unknown.[18]

Toward evening, many villages begin their hundred-worship (hyakudo-mairi) at the tabernacles, undistracted by music or the noise of the contest. Each carries a bamboo basket under his arm which contains one hundred pebbles gathered from the beach. The worshippers walk back and forth between the shrine tabernacles and the water edge on the beach, a distance of about fifty yards, in their bare feet. They do this consecutively for a hundred times, and one pebble is presented for each act of worship, the pebble serving as a counter for the number

17 It is a popular saying in Japan that the cranes live for one thousand years, and the tortoises for ten thousand years.

18 For a discussion of the sexual aspect of the Young Men's Group in general, see Taro Nakayama, *Nippon Wakamono Shi* [*History of the Young Men's Group in Japan*] (Tokyo: Shunyo-do, 1930). Chapter 11 is titled "Wakamono no seiteki mondai to sono tokken" ("Sexual Problems of the Young Men's Group and its Special Privileges"), pp. 151-175.

of such acts.[19] The worshippers pray for the health and happiness of their families. One aged mother prayed for the safe repatriation of her soldier son, last reported in the Southwest Pacific. One young man performed the devotional act for a good spouse. A few of the more fervent believers wait for pitch darkness of night to commence their one hundred worships by hadaka-mairi (worship in nudity), wearing only a loin cloth after bathing in the sea. Pious others remain throughout the night repeating prayers before the tabernacle. The immense heap of pebbles before the tabernacles attests to the deep folk-belief that the common villager retains for his patron deities. It is not difficult to understand the strong faith of the farmers and fishermen whose crops and catches depend upon contingencies beyond human control. It is here more than in the formal shrine ceremonies that the deep folk faith is manifested.

On the night of the 15th, while the tabernacles remain in hama, the festival is observed solely in hama. The people of oka are invited by their relatives and friends in hama to feast and stay overnight. Silence prevails over oka except in the Young Men's dormitory where those who did not participate in hama, eat, drink, and sing together. There is visiting, feasting, and drinking everywhere in hama.

In the afternoon of the next day, preparation is made for the tabernacles to depart from hama, returning to the oka shrine. The onobori (ascending) procession line-up is similar to the descending trip except for the addition of the daimanto and the gomagara. The popular gomagara is a small platform stage on which three musicians play. It is carried about like a stretcher on the backs of persons, four each in front and rear. Much clowning by the young men goes on around it. The daimanto and the gomagara are pulled uphill by the Young Men's Group, who still wear their feminine disguise. All the people of Yawatano merrily follow the procession back to oka. Compared to the solemnity and silence of the downward procession, the upward parade is boisterous and lively.

As the crowd reaches oka, the villagers of hama are invited into the homes of oka. The shanins, priests, and the attendants proceed quietly on to the shrine precinct for the ceremony of miyairi (shrine reëntrance). Many carry torches as they proceed into the evening forest. The drum is loudly sounded as the

19 Such a custom prevails throughout Japan. It is sometimes called the sendo-mairi (a thousand worship) or mando-mairi (ten thousand worship), and faggots, straws, or chopsticks are used in place of pebbles. There is also a similar custom called sensha-mairi (one thousand shrine worship) which is a pilgrimage to one thousand shrines to paste up one thousand amulets. People do not literally worship one thousand or ten thousand times; it is merely understood to mean many times, usually not more than a hundred.

tabernacles reach the sanctuary. In the inner shrine the clap-board is knocked twice for the omezame (waking up) which returns the deities into the shrine. The shanins offer the branches of the pasania tree before the shrine and sit in a circle. They once again chant the song, and the ceremony of the sanctuary is concluded with the partaking of sake and glutinous rice.

Finally the shanins gather in front of a subordinate shrine near the Haiden. The Oshitake (Fire-burning) shrine is said to enshrine the deities of fire and water. All shanins begin their sing-song chant to a drum accompaniment. They pray that Yawatano families may live in peace, crops be abundant, and that the fish catches be large.

This evening is one of hustle-bustle for oka, as the feasting continues. The primary attraction of this second night of the festival is the public entertainment program put on by the Young Men's Group on an outdoor stage. The play which the Young Men's Group has been rehearsing over a month, the odori (dance) of the village maidens, and other amateur performances go on far into the night as the two-day festival comes to a close.

VI

Yawatano festival serves primarily as an opportunity for revelry. The adults, as much as the children, look forward with much anticipation and pleasure to the annual celebration. The festival offers one of the few opportunities presented during the year for fun and recreational satisfaction, with breaking of normal restraints, for the usually diligent farmers and fishermen. It offers the disciplined youths of the community a chance to romp and indulge in horseplay and clowning. The religious aspect is definitely subordinate. The ancient cult of local deities has in modern times degenerated into a gay festival although the formal structure is retained. As Embree pointed out, the formal religion, "while appreciated to some extent by the . . . Shinto priests, is little understood by the peasant; he looks to . . . the pantheon of Shinto gods for protection in this life."[20] Although deep faith of the people in their tutelary deities is exhibited by the hundred-worship and worship-in-nudity, little interest is generally shown in the formal religious aspect. Even the hereditary shanins sing their chants and observe the conforming rules and manners, but fail to scrutinize the full meaning or character of the rite. Rather, importance is attached to the formality, whatever it may be, handed down for generations from their ancestors.

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20 John F. Embree, *Suye Mura, a Japanese Village* (Chicago, 1939), p. 221.